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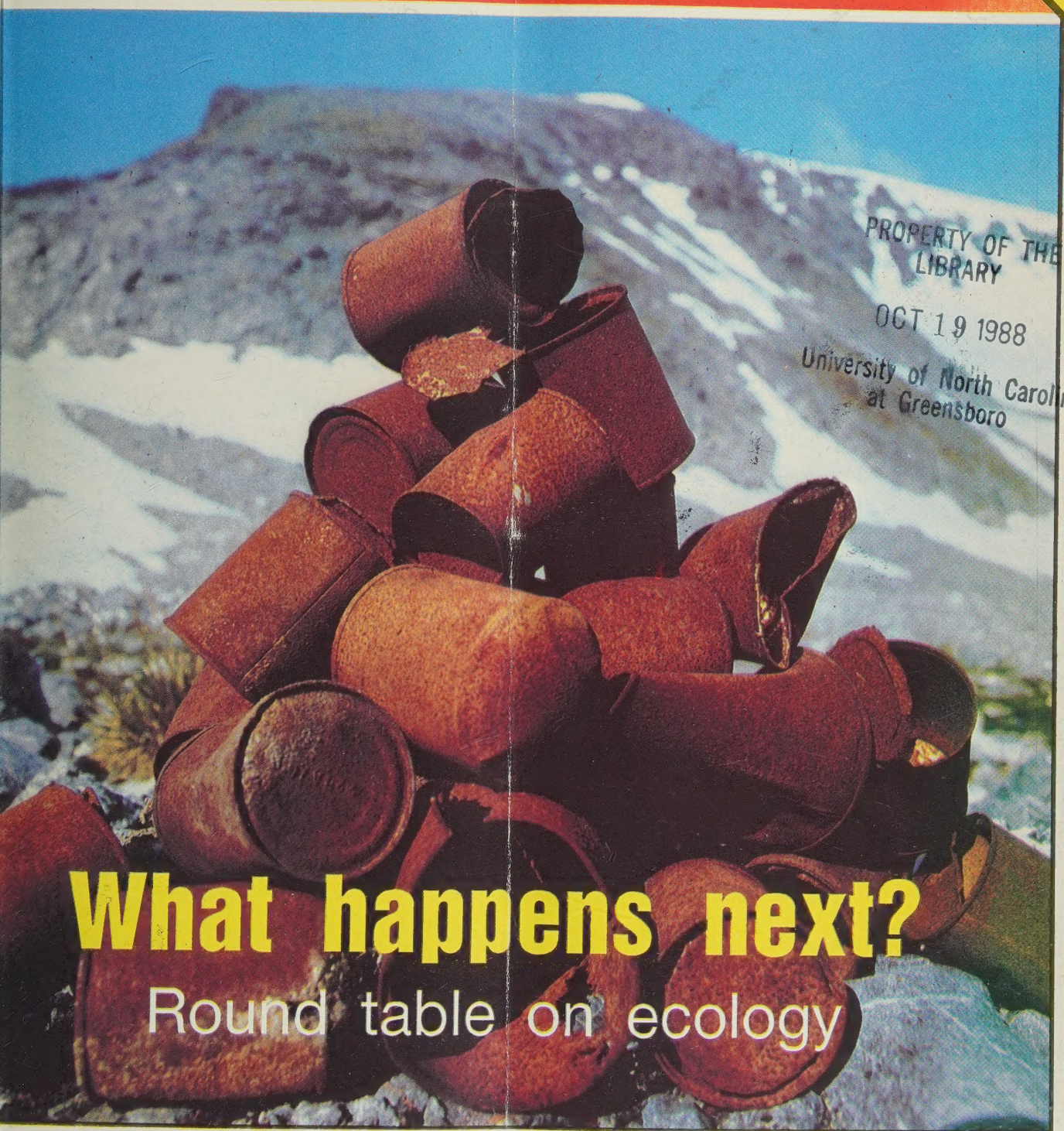
October 1988
SOVIET WEEKLY
WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

Vyshinsky and his die-hard diplomacy



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NEW TIMES

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● What have the September Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the special sessions of the Supreme Soviets of the U.S.S.R. and the Russian Federation meant to the political life of the country? ● The new personnel policy and democratization ● The reorganization of the state machinery ● Prospects of perestroika: inside and outside views

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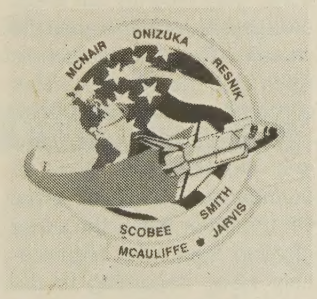

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Cover by Victor Brel

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OPINIONS

Dieter Heine,
Erfurt, G.D.R.

■ In my opinion all the socialist countries lag considerably behind in the sphere of economic management. So in your country too, as I discovered from a New Times article, the training of personnel was in large measure confined to teaching a great many subjects, and you also underestimated the possibility of an effective switchover to accelerated economic development and disregarded the situation on the world market. Most industries, to my mind, do not have at their disposal a sufficient number of qualified managers and training centres. The intelligent manager deals only generally with production processes. His principal task is to look into faults in the production process and analyze the possibilities for improvement in the overall strategy. Alas, as far as the socialist countries are concerned, I think, the rational use of such specialists still remains a matter for the future. In my opinion the outlook for the development of Hungarian industry looks bright, precisely because immediately it is established, every new firm seeks contacts with the representatives of the relevant managers training centre. To my mind, this practice should also be promoted in other socialist countries.

Another possible way of training skilled managers, as I see it, is to send intelligent people to work in leading firms in other countries. Incidentally, joint ventures open up good prospects for this.

And it is certainly necessary to put an end to any bureaucratic activities. I join the ranks of all those who are opposed to bureaucrats.

FROM THE EDITORS: recently our correspondent visited Volgograd together with members of the Volga Peace Cruise "For Peace, Security and Environmental Protection." The letter we print below was handed over to him by citizens of Volgograd who asked him to make it public. Responding to their request and taking into account the fact that in May and June ecological demonstrations were held in the city, we hope that the editors will receive an answer to and an explanation for the facts reflected in the appeal.

O. Bubnova, V. Lebedev, O. Filimonova,
Volgograd, U.S.S.R.

■ We the citizens of the hero town on the Volga, appeal to ecologists throughout the world. We would like to call your attention to the grave ecological consequences caused by the runaway indusltrialization of our region. There are within the city limits several enterprises that discharge industrial waste to the Volga and pollute the atmosphere, and which have a pernicious effect on human health as well as a poisoning effect on fish, birds and plants. The Volga has all but lost its main natural resource – fish. Now bathing on the right bank is forbidden as it is hazardous for life. Pollution is particularly bad in Krasnoarmeisky district, where discharges of hazardous substances frequently exceed the permissible level by dozens of times over. Therefore residents often complain of headaches, coughing, giddiness and allergic reactions. According to the U.S.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, many schoolchildren in our city are developing abnormally and have to study in special schools. Should not our whole economy work for an improvement in living conditions?

In fact, however, the picture is quite different. Followed by rainfall, the worst discharges cause the poisonous substances to settle on plants, and the leaves of trees become blemished. Blue smoke often hangs over our houses. The purification facilities that operate near our district fail to reprocess the hazardous chemical waste, which fills large sedimentation tanks. The chemical works use old, worn equipment, and substances are mainly discharged into the atmosphere at night when nobody is around to provide suitable control. Hazardous chemical waste is dumped in open air tips, and the poisons penetrate the soil and water.

We have had enough examples of ecological disasters. We do not want to be victims of the catastrophe that has started to take place before our very eyes. And we the people of Volgograd appeal to the participants in the cruise and the entire interntional public for their support and help. We beg you to hear and understand our alarm.

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Alexei Kurganov,
Moscow Region,
U.S.S.R.

■ The present period should, I think, be most appreciated for its emphasis on genuine realism, including a realistic approach to international relations. Only recently our press castigated and disparaged the so-called Common Market. To listen to it, the member states of the organization were always in conflict and, in general, the EEC was about to crumble like a house of cards. On the other hand, the press glorified the CMEA organization. Here, according to the press of the time, everyting was in perfect order, if not better. And if something bad did happen, it was laid at the door of the crafty capitalists. Yes, those were sad times... Glasnost has irrefutably demonstrated the one-sidedness and bias of such reasoning. Only now are we beginning to appreciate the role played by the EEC and the importance of cooperation rather than confrontation between the CMEA and the EEC. I know that this summer official relations were established between the two organizations and that the sides are working out a major agreement. Steps like these can only be welcomed as in the long run they work for a common goal – the strengthening of peace and friendship between nations. We often talk big but in this case – and it is a pleasant exception – there are deeds as well as words. This offers hope.

A. Prokimnov,
engineer,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ In issue No. 37 I read the feature by Larisa Kuznetsova "What makes a woman happy." It is good that a sense of dignity is awakening in modern woman. But rhetoric and articles cannot improve the condition of women. So what is to be done? I once read somewhere that in Norway they were working on a law which may now have been adopted, stipulating that the government or any other executive body shall consist at least of forty per cent of women. The position of women in our country will remain unchanged until we pass

GLASNOST

a similar law. And the conditions they live in are complicated and in many aspects even grave. As a result of constant violation by managers (mostly males) of very good laws on the protection of women's labour, maternity and infancy, we now have the worst possible consequences for the nation and the state – a general disturbance in the gene pool of society. We have for a long time derived consolation from the thought that the position of women in the West is even more grave, that in the U.S. women and men are not equal before the law, etc. In the meantime, we have failed to see that with all our most progressive legislation on women's rights, women in the U.S.S.R. have, in actual fact, begun to be discriminated against. We have practically no women who hold high-ranking posts such as ministers, ambassadors... No, we cannot do without the Norwegian experience!

Charles Quist Adade,
Ghanaian journalist,
student at Leningrad State University,
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

■ When I arrived in the Soviet Union to begin my studies, I thought I would be able to get books by or on Trotsky to read. Unfortunately, in the whole six years I never saw a single work by or on him. When one day I asked my lecturer where I could get material on Trotsky to read, his reply was nothing but intriguing: "Why do you want to know about Trotsky?" I replied: "Why shouldn't I know about him?" to which he said: "I am afraid you won't achieve your aim here." Why?

Ivan Proskurin,
former POW, war and labour veteran,
Voronezh, U.S.S.R.

■ I fully support the idea of establishing in our country an organization affiliating former POWs and people driven into fascist slavery. I think this is the only way to restore justice to those who suffered not only from nazi atrocities but also from Stalin's cruelty. We ex-POWs must tell the younger generation about these tragic years of our history in order to rule out the possibility of their recurrence, because even now, strange though it may seem, there are supporters of Stalinism.

Andrei Lubensky,
Cherkassy, U.S.S.R.

■ I agree with the opinion expressed by Andrej Fozikos from Prague (Issue No. 19, 1988) that we need not necessarily get ecstatic about the increase in the number of TV programmes and the times at which they are broadcast. The more so as their quality leaves much to be desired. Incidentally, I would like to know the opinion of specialists – doctors, psychologists – if it is healthy for children, barely awake, to watch animated cartoons (in the daily programme 120 Minutes). And how in general does TV affect the child's organism?

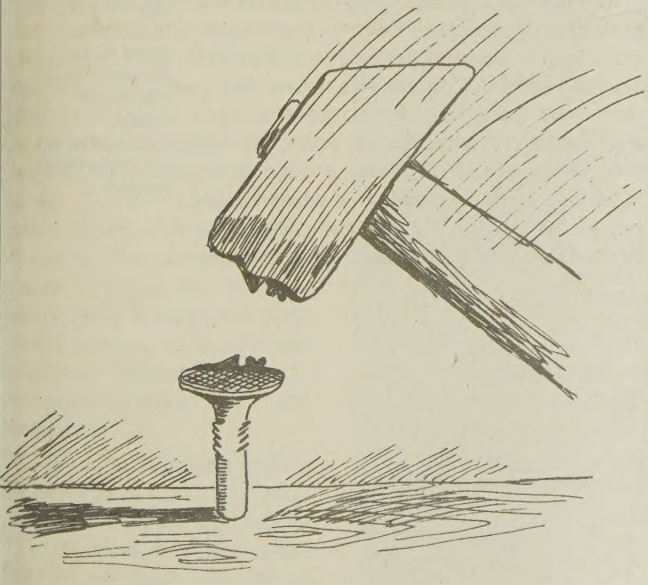
Should a "non-television day" be introduced? Personally I am in favour of it. But the final decision should, of course, be made by viewers. After all, each family can set this day for themselves. In my view, however, the problem here is much larger. What is TV to be replaced with? Do we know how usefully to dispose of our free time? And most importantly, do we have the facilities for doing so? To my mind, the choice in our country is shockingly small. Why don't we all put our heads together, scientists, public figures and people from many other walks of life, to think about the question?

Vladimir Tyusov,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ I am a long-standing reader of N.T. I am still impressed by Vitaly Ganyushkin's article "Councils – with and without communists" (issue No. 31, 1988) on the activities of local government in France.

I should like to extend a request which I believe many of your readers will back up. This year is coming to a close and, as usual, the last issue for 1988 will carry a list of the year's articles. I would like it to be printed not at the end of the magazine but on the centre spread to make it easier to fold it into booklet form. And would you please also include an index of all the people featured in the Profile Sketches? You see, when I come on a person's name in the press I often feel I would like to reread the material on him, and a list like this would help us quickly find the respective issue of New Times.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad (Leningrad)

GLASNOST

Igor Grinevch
Minsk, U.S.S.R.

■ It was with keen interest that I read Lev Bezymensky's serial shedding new light on the Warsaw uprising. As far as I can gather, though, this has been just one of the "blanks" in the history of Soviet-Polish relations. Why don't you do a similar study of the Katyn affair? I should also very much like to know the findings of the Soviet-Polish commission which has discussed the "blanks."

CORRESPONDENCE

Leonid Yemleninov,
Magadan Region,
Bilibino District,
Stadukhino village

■ I am a regular reader of New Times, having been a subscriber since 1984. Here in the North, the press is the principal source of information. My friends and I read and discuss the most interesting things. But this year I have not been able to subscribe to New Times. At the post office they told me that its limit had been exhausted. But what kind of limit it is and who set it were the questions to which I received no answer. I hope very much that the editors will look into it and be able to help...

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

PRIVATE OPINION

MIKHAIL SHATROV,
playwright

The political reform under way in our country has now spread to the vital link of the Party, its Central Committee. Having embarked on a course of democratic changes, the CPSU has decided to change the structure of its leading bodies. This, in my view, is the main result of the September plenum of the Central Committee and of the Supreme Soviet session.

The Central Committee has formed commissions on strategic directions in domestic and foreign policy. I regard this as the first major step towards the democratization of the Party and the elimination of red tape in the work of its headquarters. Measures have been taken to build a more satisfactory organization of the Central Committee and promote ardent champions of perestroika to Party work.

The renewal of the country's political vanguard is a revolutionary process. I would like to say in this connection that it was started from above. The process will be effective only if it is backed from below, in particular at the report and election meetings in the Party branches. The example set from above should be understood, taken up and developed. Only in this way will we win through and pro-perestroika elements who really mean business take control of society.

MICHAEL COLLINS,
U.S. astronaut

At the fourth general conference of representatives of the U.S. and Soviet public held recently in Tbilisi I was lucky enough to meet again my old friend, cosmonaut Valery Kubasov. We astronauts sincerely rejoice at each other's successes, jointly grieve over losses, and dream of joint flights on shuttle vehicles of the Discovery type. At 58, having made two space flights, I no longer dream of exploring near-earth space. But I would welcome with all my heart a new American-Soviet mission, for instance, to Mars.

Any space flight drastically changes man's world outlook. From the black abyss of space our earth seems extremely fragile and defenceless. Only astronauts can fully realize that all of us must treat the cradle of mankind with great care. Our task is to preserve the earth for posterity. I would like to note one interesting thing: American and Soviet spacemen take part in all the peace marches and meetings of peace forces imbued with a spirit of humanism and mutual understanding. I wish as many people as possible could make space flights so that they will be imbued with concern for the preservation of life on earth.

I am glad that my visit coincided with important changes in Soviet domestic policy. People in many countries are watching closely and with hope the processes taking place in the Soviet Union. I think there is no Venezuelan, whether a politician or an ordinary citizen, who would not show interest in current Soviet reforms.

It is very important that the changes planned by the government are fully understood and backed by the people. How did the leadership win the trust of the people? It was evidently able to do so because it displayed great political courage by publicly revealing past mistakes in order to avoid them in the future.

Venezuela and the Soviet Union are linked by a number of agreements and treaties. Both countries have the desire and the will to expand cooperation, and they should now be backed up by practical action.

CARPIO RUBEN CASTILLO,
chairman of the Senate foreign affairs committee, the National Congress of Venezuela

The political decisions taken in Moscow a few days ago have added up to a personnel policy geared to the cardinal reforms proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet leader now bears an even greater responsibility for the successful implementation of these reforms. If Gorbachev achieves success, he will be one of the greatest leaders in the history of his country. We wish him luck.

Thanks to these decisions, the prospects of the Federal Chancellor's visit to Moscow at the end of October have become more auspicious and interesting. We are sure that this visit and Mikhail Gorbachev's return visit to Bonn next spring will raise Soviet-West German relations in the political, economic and cultural fields to a higher level. In our opinion, such long-term cooperation is vitally important for the creation of a new, better and more peaceful climate on the European continent.

KARL LAMERS,
Member of the Bundestag, Head of the Disarmament and Arms Control Committee of the CDU/CSU faction

Time for resolute action

Professor Gavriil Popov

What happened in the sphere of Party leadership of the country on the last day of September and the first day of October? I would define the essence of the changes in this way: for the first time since the beginning of perestroika there has emerged in the leadership a situation making it possible for the leadership to make perestroika the basis of its real policy.

Any development in our country's socio-political life must be judged, first and foremost, by the extent to which it bears upon perestroika. Few come out against perestroika in the open today. The majority is now "all for" perestroika, so we need more accurate and finer standards of judgement. Whereas previously perestroika had its advocates and its opponents, the former category is now in need of classification.

Two versions of perestroika

For all the diversity of positions, two main approaches to perestroika are manifest. The method used by Lenin to analyze the development of capitalist trends in agriculture is extremely useful in understanding the common and different characteristics of these positions. According to Lenin, capitalist evolution can proceed in Prussian or American style. In the Prussian-style version military despotism, decked out in parliamentary garb, remains in control of a country. The American-style version means "the abolition of landlord farming; the peasant becomes a free farmer; popular government; the bourgeois-democratic political system."

One of the courses open to our perestroika is far-reaching, resolute and rapid reform. These changes are possible only given vigorous action on the part of the working people themselves, the broad masses of Communists and non-Party people. All the abscesses of the past are lanced. A strong wind of change is to blow the huge Administrative Machine away. This involves tremendous difficulties and strenuous efforts which, however, have a prompt effect because the most radical ideas become economic realities rightaway, without any transitional periods or compromises with outdated practices. Our objective is to attain self-management in production and full democracy in our Party and in our state at large. We shall have it fairly hard for a spell, but the main target of our attack is obvious: the bureaucratic apparatus, which is directly and chiefly responsible for years of stagnation. New state machinery will be formed before long, its main function being not to command the masses but to protect, express and serve the interests of the working people so as to secure their votes during elections. This is one version of **popular democratic** perestroika.

Another version is to effect perestroika using the state machinery we have inherited from the past. While purging itself and learning to function in new ways, it will draw up programmes and plans for reforms, instructions, on methods of work, etc. The progress of the reforms will depend directly for its rate on how quick the government bodies are to learn new methods of management. Changes will be carried out in forms that do minimum damage to the state machinery. Economic reforms

AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET, **MIKHAIL GORBACHEV,** GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

AT THE SEPTEMBER PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND AT THE SPECIAL SESSIONS OF THE SUPREME SOVIETS OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, NEW POSTS AND APPOINTMENTS WENT TO:

Vadim Medvedev – elected a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee;

Victor Chebrikov – elected Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;

Vitaly Vorotnikov – elected president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation;

Alexander Vlasov – elected alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation;

Alexandra Biryukova – elected alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, appointed Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers;

Anatoly Lukyanov – elected alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and First Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium;

Boris Pugo – appointed Chairman of the Party Control Commission under the CPSU Central Committee;

Vladimir Kryuchkov – appointed Chairman of the State Security Committee of the U.S.S.R.

will go through a multitude of stages. Democracy will be introduced piecemeal. The state machinery will seek to reduce democracy to formalities like setting up closed booths for optional voting by secret ballot. The electorate will be free to nominate, and cast their ballots for, several candidates, but the election procedure will be such as to ensure victory for those marked out by the upper echelon as qualified for government posts. The more real popular activity is regulated from above, the longer perestroika will take (in fact, it could be protracted for decades). At a first glance, the people will be spared extremes and "stress." Actually, dragging the reform process out for years, and "sitting on the fence," will cost all of us a much higher price in the end.

This kind of perestroika can be described as "apparat"-controlled.

No one is in a position to preserve the Administrative System. The problem of how, and within what time frame, by whose efforts and at whose expense it is to be dismantled is the central one. Therefore, any events can be taken as a correct measure of today only if viewed in the light of the democratic or "apparat"-controlled versions of perestroika.

Alignment of forces

A specific situation set in in the Party and the country on the eve of the 19th Party conference. Perestroika has already made substantial headway, particularly in the sphere of ideology and the popular mentality. It has become irreversible. Nevertheless, its rates and results so far neither conform to the government's original notions and resolutions, nor live up to grassroots' expectations.

On the one hand, therefore, the pro-perestroika elements are becoming increasingly active. They include the working people, sick and tired of wage-levelling and averaging; factory managers bound hand and foot by instructions and directives; intellectuals concerned about the slow progress of perestroika; young people resentful of a certain discrepancy beween words and deeds.

On the other hand, those in real danger of losing their high posts in the state machinery (and, consequently, their privileges) are not sitting idly by either.

Both the former and the latter constituted the minority in our society. Which side would gain the upper hand depended on the position of the general public, the ordinary people. But the public was not as active as it should have been. Its favourable but passive attitude to perestroika did not develop into real action. Neither were there any political mechanisms to back up the public's economic enterprise with democratic guarantees.

Under the circumstances, it was the Party and state leadership rather than the masses that became the arbiters in the dispute over the two versions of perestroika.

The leadership itself was also in a difficult position, as is evidenced by the strange resolution on Boris Yeltsin's decision to resign and by Nina Andreyeva's letter in Sovetskaya Rossia, which came as a pleasant surprise to some people in the state machinery. On the whole, in all cases where, in the course of electing delegates to the 19th Party conference, the masses went into resolute action (in Yaroslavl, where the bureau "rebelled" against the then first secretary; in Astrakhan, where the regional committee "rebelled" against the bureau; or in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk where Party members contested election results) the leadership supported the masses. But the procedure of electing delegates conformed on the whole to a traditional pattern.

It was precisely the active position of the Communists and non-Party people en masse, and their unanimity in the run-up to the 19th conference that created the prerequisites for the adoption of progressive resolutions by the conference. The voting at the conference and at the recent plenary meeting would have been inconceivable without this wave of resolute action from below.

The post-conference situation was aptly described by Mikhail Gorbachev, who told the special session of the Supreme Soviet that the working people "demand more resolute and vigorous action." "The working people," he added, "are not content with the way our government and economic bodies, public organizations and many Party committees are functioning." But then, the masses' "demands" and "dissatisfaction" are one thing, while their own resolute action is something else again. That was why it was the leadership's stand that decided which version of perestroika would take the upper hand. Nevertheless, the post-conference situation is different from that before the conference. The package of the conference's resolutions made it quite possible for the leadership to act, at will, differently from the way it had done in the run-up to the conference. So it was only logial that the leadership took the chance.

What it means

I realize full well that the attitude of the **public** is in the final analysis of **definitive** significance in implementing our chosen course of perestroika. Yet the leadership's position is also of great importance.

I don't mean those adherents of perestroika who are so deeply permeated with the apathy and parasitism of decades, that they expect somebody else to remake their farm, factory, office or college in their stead, help them hold democratic elections, etc. For such "consumers of perestroika," the leadership issue is, of course, vital. Nor do I mean those leaders who are convinced in advance that they can implement perestroika by issuing the appropriate directives. For them, too, the problem is one of power. I am convinced that even the best of them won't be able to carry perestroika through to the applause of the dutiful masses. Indeed, however much leaders seek to express the will of the people, it is only the masses themselves who can effect genuine perestroika. It is their preparedness, their energy that can ensure real perestroika.

However, even against the background of this overall approach, it would be wrong to overlook the problem of the leadership and even more so its significance within the specific context of the present stage of development.

THE SEPTEMBER PLENARY MEETING INSTITUTED CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMISSIONS:

– on questions of Party structure and personnel policy (chairman **Georgy Razumovsky**);
– on ideology (chairman **Vadim Medvedev**);
– on aspects of socio-economic policy (chairman **Nikolai Slyunkov**);
– on matters of agrarian policy (chairman **Egor Ligachev**);
– on matters of international policy (chairman **Alexander Yakovlev**);
– on aspects of legal policy (chairman **Victor Chebrikov**).

We have all heard about "a revolution from the top." But if the issue really is a revolution, then only the people can bring it about. "From the top" merely means that this revolution was initiated "from the top," and that the "top" is doing all it can to promote the revolution's development "from below." Still, there is a long and large difference between a situation, where in the process of revolution the people rely on the "top" and a situation where the "top" is itself an obstacle that the revolution sweeps away.

No wonder the entire country reacts so sensitively to the problem of the "top" and its composition, and so energetically insists on having complete information as to what position each leader adopts at Central Committee plenums or Political Bureau meetings. People realize that this directly affects them and that a definitive factor acting for perestroika is at stake.

Work ahead

The Soviet people are still not as active as perestroika would require. However, their political and social awareness is fairly developed. They all understood what was going on when they saw one or another wonderful decision implemented by the apparatus, even by a bureaucratic apparatus, aware that such an outcome was by no means consonant with either the concepts or the positions of the leadership. How aptly Mikhail Gorbachev put it at the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet when he said: "People are fully aware of our problems and difficulties." Consequently, we can only welcome the leadership's rapid appraisal of the altered situation within the Party and the country and its personnel reshuffle. The obstacles and difficulties are now greatly reduced, with power concentrated and all doors open for decisive and vigorous action.

Though the leadership cannot act for all of us in the process of perestroika, it is equally true that the leadership cannot confine action exclusively to calls and appeals. It is essential for all of us – for us and for our leaders – to evolve an option that would allow decisive action by the working masses to interact with and complement the equally decisive action of the leadership stimulating the action of the masses.

The problems of state retail price rises on foodstuffs, internation relationships, elections to Party bodies and Soviets, and of a new third model for a fundamental economic overhaul will be the yardstick in the immediate future, enabling us easily to discern the deep-seated differences between the democratic option and the apparatus option for perestroika.

True enough, as I have noted before, the new instructions on Party elections, along with a range of unquestionably progressive measures with regard to the pivotal issue of competing for mandates, are based wholly on positions that existed before perestroika was launched. That is in the interests exclusively of those sections of the apparatus who are either afraid to compete in such elections or cannot imagine how they will be able to lead in the context of such elections. Yet we must realize that the basic aim of perestroika is for the apparatus really to relegate the dominant role to the masses, as otherwise we will not have perestroika without which the country will not be able successfully to advance.

The same is valid for elections to the Soviets, where again the danger of sundry substitutions for real competition for mandates looms large.

It is already plain that attempts to proceed with the accepted apparatus option for the economic reform will not only get nowhere, but, on the contrary, like any half-hearted decision, even exacerbate the situation. What is needed is a real revolution in the area of agriculture, through the introduction of lease contracts, voluntary cooperatives of lease-holders, and the complete elimination of all the forms that were adopted earlier simply because they suited the Administrative System. Retail trade, public services, and a high proportion of construction and industry should switch completely to the lease-hold and franchise system.

Also needed are new foundations for the national structure, solutions whereby the rights that the various peoples enjoy would all be the same and would not depend on what kind of administrative state forms existed in the past, or even on whether these forms exist at all.

These are all profoundly interconnected problems. The democratic option for each of them necessarily presumes an identical approach to the other issues. We will not be able to cope with national problems unless we have a fundamental option for economic reform. On the other hand, we will fail radically to overhaul the economy unless the Party and state are profoundly democratized.

We have entered a new chapter of perestroika. Stormy debates, rallies and speeches are no longer enough. Work needs to be done. What Mikhail Gorbachev said at the session about "giving full play to grassroots initiative, to the informal participation of the general public in the effort to cope with every issue," and, moreover, "through every form that may come into being in the process of perestroika" is absolutely valid not only for the Soviets, but, indeed, for the whole of the national leadership. The time for action, for work, by each one of us, has arrived.

THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN RELIEVED:

Andrei Gromyko, member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and President of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium;

Mikhail Solomentsev, member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and Chairman of the Party Control Commission under the CPSU Central Committee;

Vladimir Dolgikh, alternate member of the Political Bureau and CPSU Central Committee Secretary;

Pyotr Demichev, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Political Bureau and First Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium;

Anatoly Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee Secretary;

Alexei Antonov, Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers;

Vladimir Orlov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN MOVED TO OTHER POSTS:

Victor Chebrikov, Chairman of the State Security Committee of the U.S.S.R.;

Alexandra Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee Secretary;

Anatoly Lukyanov, CPSU Central Committee Secretary.

The Gorbachev revolution and the Western response

The management of strategic peace in a new era

John Browne

The vast majority of us, both in the capitalist and communist worlds, share a common wish for continued peace.

One of the key challenges now facing our leaders is how to manage strategic peace in a new era, an era which has seen, not a conclusive change in long-term goals but, a dramatic change in the leadership style of the Soviet Union and a distinct easing of East-West tension. Mr Gorbachev's leadership requires a new response by Western leaders.

History shows us that there are basically three types of peace: the peace of death; the peace of deterrence; and the peace of friendship.

The peace of death pervades when one side's ability to continue in a struggle is defeated. This was the fate of nazi Germany when defeated by the alliance of Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States in the second world war.

The peace of deterrence is the type of peace we now enjoy when, under mutually assured nuclear destruction, both the Warsaw Pact and the NATO allies stand by their ideological differences but accept strategic peace.

The most desirable type of peace is that of friendship and mutual trust such as that which now exists between the United Kingdom and the United States.

The advent of Mr Gorbachev as a superpower leader gives the two superpowers and their allies the chance of progressing from the present static peace of deterrence towards the far more sophisticated and flexible peace of friendship under which the countries of the whole world could make far more rapid human progress. World leaders who were used to maintaining the static peace of deterrence now have to adapt to Mr Gorbachev's challenge, to grassroots opinion throughout the world of a peace of friendship. Such a fundamental change is not easy for world leaders to both assimilate and accommodate, especially when one considers the underlying ideological differences.

On 11th March 1985 Mr Gorbachev was elected as leader of the Soviet Union and unleashed a propaganda blitzkrieg upon the static peace of deterrence.

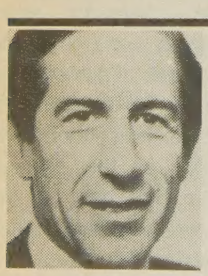
In December 1984, some 3 months before he was elected as leader, Mr Gorbachev visited London as a guest of the British branch of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). It was not a state visit but a relatively low-key parliamentary visit. I had the honour of being a member of the British IPU delegation to receive Mr and Mrs Gorbachev and their fellow delegates. In addition, I had the privilege of showing Mr and Mrs Gorbachev around the House of Commons and escorting them on a number of other visits, including the British Museum. It provided me with a unique opportunity to get a "feeling" of the Gorbachevs over some three days and under conditions varying from relatively formal meetings with the Foreign Affairs Select Committee to informal chats with individuals.

At that time, not much was known about Mr Gorbachev in the West and possibly not much in Russia either. However, I had taken the opportunity to brief myself on him both in Washington and in London. The three days over which I met him were therefore like a process of osmosis. I was asked for my opinions at the time by the media, including British and American television. In response to one American television interviewer I said that Mr Gorbachev was a potential superpower diplomat, who had probably been pre-selected and was then effectively the "managing director" of the Soviet Union under the "chairmanship" of the ailing Chernenko. I added that although Mr Gorbachev was a tough, dedicated Communist, I felt that if the Soviet communist system allowed it, he and Mrs Gorbachev could well have become the Soviet Union's equivalent of the United States' "Kennedys." Such remarks were greeted with derision in the West. That was until Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said: "I think I can do business with this man." My views as a British layman were then given some credence. I have now been invited to share some of my main impressions with you.

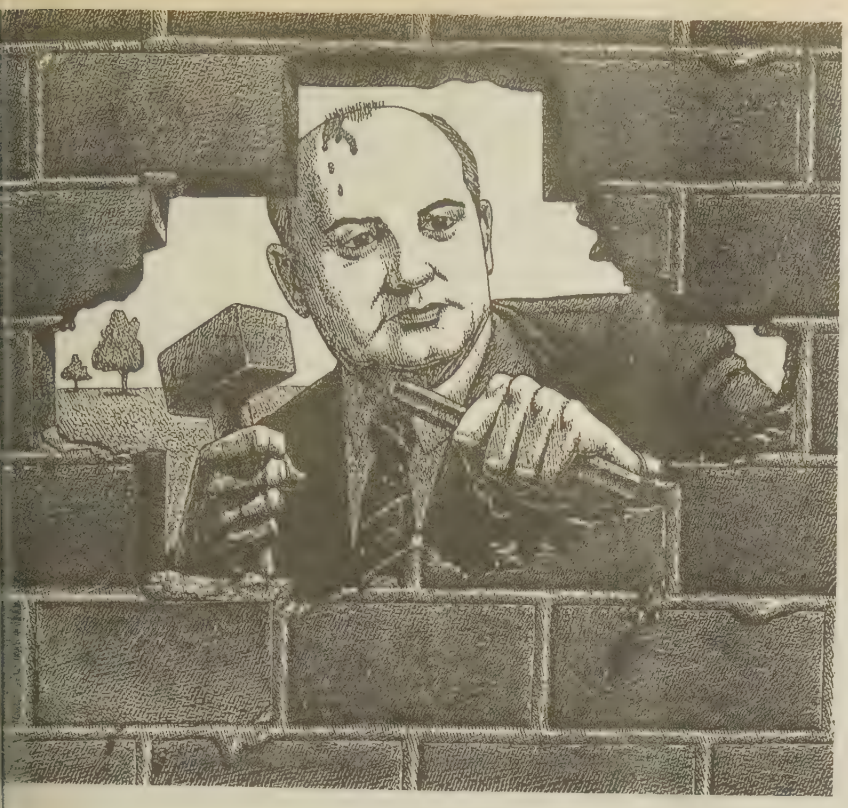
The overriding feeling I gained was that Mr Gorbachev was somehow distinctly different from the other Soviet leaders whom I had known by way of television and newspaper reports. He was someone who I felt would herald a change – a change that would affect many hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, including the people of the Soviet Union and my own country. Both Mr and Mrs Gorbachev were obviously highly intelligent and well-educated. They were also very inquisitive. What was somewhat unusual for politicians was that they appeared actually to listen to the answers to their questions. Mr Gorbachev's ability to speak persuasively and handle impromptu and difficult questions effectively was also impressive. It was very different from the style we had seen previously in Soviet leaders with the possible exception of Mr Khrushchev. However, Mr Gorbachev's style was less jading to Western tastes than that of Mr Khrushchev.

It was obvious to me that Mr Gorbachev was an outstanding communicator who possessed, both physically and verbally, that intangible thing we call "charisma." What is more, he possessed a brand of charisma which he was not only able but obviously quite willing to exploit over the Western news media.

Mr Gorbachev also seemed possessed of a very highly developed sense of self-confidence. I personally have seen such self-confidence in the faces of both President Reagan and of our Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. I think their



John Browne is a British Conservative MP since 1979.



khail Gorbachev challenges static peace of deterrence
Photo from the Panorama journal (Italy)

lf-confidence stems from the fact at they believe that fate has placed em in a position of great power at a rticular time in history to do a par-ular job. As such, they become gely immune from political fear and rnerable only to the assassin's bullet the ballot box. The self-confidence Mr Gorbachev appeared different d to be based upon a superb track cord of performance. Nonetheless, sense of self-confidence when mbined with his obvious intelligence d energy, led me to believe that we re in the presence of a future Soviet der who had the potential to be flex-and even creative. I was in no way prised to see Mr Gorbachev display new diplomacy which stunned the st at the Reykjavik Summit.

laving seen Mr and Mrs Gorbachev relatively close quarters, I was con-ced that they would be able to form ridge between the government and small but influential intelligentsia of Soviet Union.

felt that Mr Gorbachev's charisma ld be used effectively to motivate mbers of both the management and workforce to a degree hitherto unseen in the Soviet economy. It could also be used to persuade the Soviet elite or nomenklatura of the need for change.

Mr Gorbachev has a quick shrewdness which I felt would be used to massage any potential splits in the Western alliance into gaping canyons. He also has the audaciousness and energy that is vitally necessary to achieve change.

Finally, I felt that he would have the ability to ensure that the mantle of "war mongers" would no longer rest exclusively on the shoulders of Soviet leaders in the eyes of Western public opinion. Mr Gorbachev could transfer it to the shoulders of our own leaders if they failed to satisfy our own voters with sound reasons for refusing apparently attractive Soviet peace initiatives.

Although I had no illusion that Mr Gorbachev was anything other than a tough Communist, or that under him the Soviet long-term aims would change, I did feel he would bring about a great change in the style of the Soviet Union's leadership, diplomacy and image. The picture of the brutal Russian bear would be replaced in Western minds by that of a reasonable, responsible and even reassuring Russian.

Although I was much criticized at the time, I believe that my first impressions of Mr Gorbachev were accurate. A dramatic change has already occurred. Indeed, it is quite extraordinary that a Soviet leader, now often known not merely as Gorbachev but as "Gorby," should be held by Western grassroots opinion to be one of the best-known and most popular of world leaders.

How do we in the West view the Gorbachev phenomenon? It seems obvious to us that any Soviet leader must see the vital necessity of rejuvenating the Soviet economy and that such action will require both time and technological investment. We see Mr Gorbachev as a man with the intelligence to understand the problem; the ability to adapt elements of successful capitalism (e.g., decentralization and profit centres, etc.) to communism; the charisma to persuade his nomenklatura of the necessity and even the desirability of change for their own survival; and the time and energy to achieve a psychological revolution of far-reaching proportions.

Above all, we see Mr Gorbachev as a man who has both the creative intelligence and the ability to deliver. He uses these skills to buy time in order to rejuvenate the Soviet economy. For this the essential ingredient is the halting of the arms race and particularly SDI.

We see Mr Gorbachev as the first Soviet leader to use diplomacy rather than bluster to maintain super-power strategic peace. He is proposing the peace of friendship to Western leaders who have long been used to the peace of deterrence. This, in itself, is a fundamental change to which not only Western leaders have to react but also Western public opinion. This is, of

course, vitally important in democratic states.

Unlike the Warsaw Pact, which on defence matters at least faces the world as a single unit, the Western alliance is made up of independent democratic nations, each competing with the other. It is therefore not surprising that Western countries vary in their view and their reaction to the fundamental changes created by Mr Gorbachev.

Mr Gorbachev's initiatives clearly have the effect of causing potential splits in the Western alliance – splits that can only be overcome by leadership of the highest order. Outstanding leadership has been displayed by Margaret Thatcher and President Reagan. What is more, they work well together. It is interesting to note that Mr Gorbachev has made no obvious attempt to split them, preferring perhaps to wait until after the forthcoming American Presidential election which seems likely to result in a Democratic victory.

From my conversations with him, it was clear that Mr Gorbachev understands that in order to reduce armament levels he must first reduce tension and create some degree of mutual trust. He has already greatly lowered East-West tension by diplomacy and his apparent willingness to disarm. Today the Russian bear is seen by the Western public as merely purring when it shows its teeth. It no longer growls. But, does that in itself mean that it is not dangerous? I, for one, do not yet see any real change in the long-term goals of the Soviet Union.

Mr Gorbachev's proposal of a peace of friendship is popular in the West. It sounds good. It also appears to be cost free. It therefore has the potential to lull Western grassroots opinion into a false sense of security and make the maintenance, let alone the modernization, of Western armed forces even more difficult for Western leaders to justify.

In order to buy time, Mr Gorbachev must lessen areas of tension with the West and, if possible, split them. In order to rejuvenate his economy he will need not only time but technological investment. To benefit from the latter he must extend freedom. This includes the necessity to extend freedom to the point of computer literacy on a mass scale within the Soviet Union.

In medieval times, the Roman Catholic Church held a monopoly position over Christianity in Europe. It was only with the invention of the printing press that this monopoly was broken and new Christian denominations were able to grow and thrive. Today a totalitarian state holds power essentially by the control of information. In order to achieve computer literacy, a population must have access to computers, even personal computers. Such an idea is a fundamental threat to the state control of information and therefore to the power of any totalitarian government. Mr Gorbachev now faces this very difficult problem.

The rise of Mr Gorbachev represents a change of great proportions. It is possible that, as the "iron curtain" surrounding the Soviet Union is dismantled, some of the peoples of the East and West may meet not as strangers but as friends who have never met before. We of the Western and communist world may feel the same about a number of important issues. While our leaders have set our nations upon the distinctly different and diverging courses of capitalism and communism, the peace of deterrence has shown us over the past 40 years that there need not be a military collision. However, it is almost certain that for a peace of friendship to exist, as apparently proposed by Mr Gorbachev, our ideologies must converge.

If the leaders of the capitalist and communist world genuinely wish the peace of deterrence to be replaced by the peace of friendship, they must be acutely aware of the essential ideological differences that still separate us. It may therefore be far less dangerous for our leaders to accept the present peace of deterrence and make it last into the future. Any acceptance of a peace of friendship based upon serious ideological differences could be extremely precarious for the world.

Therefore, to maintain world strategic peace, Western leaders also have an enormous task, which calls for great skill, energy and integrity.

Firstly, they must ensure that Soviet disarmament proposals are genuine; that any concessions are balanced on both sides and that they prevent their own grassroots voters from becoming lulled into a false sense of security. The Soviet record of human rights must always be seen as an indication of genuine Soviet intentions. Furthermore, human rights must always include the freedom of movement, of speech and of association.

Secondly, they must ensure that the dramatic changes proposed and introduced by Mr Gorbachev affecting East-West relations do not cause damaging splits between the Western allies. For the West to continue negotiations from a position of apparent weakness would not yield genuine peace.

Thirdly, they must prevent the massive changes now taking place within the Soviet Union from resulting in an internal "backlash" that could be damaging even to the present peace of deterrence.

Finally, Western leaders must, at the same time, try to persuade Soviet leaders and those of the communist world of the true advantages of capitalistic freedom and enterprise. They must also help in its acceptance. For only when our ideologies coincide will a peace of friendship enter the realms of realistic probability.

To achieve the above goals will not be easy, particularly in the new diplomatic game proposed by Mr Gorbachev. For example, it will require great integrity on the part of Western leaders to pursue their true national interests in the face of merely "apparent" communist concessions when there is the threat that by doing so they may return to face their electorates branded by their own Western media as "warmongers."

As the headlines of history are written in the 21st century, I believe they will show Mr Gorbachev to have been a tough, creative Communist; a superpower leader who created the opportunity for a fundamental change in the nature of world peace. Given the correct Western responses, there is a possiblity that the coming generation in our countries may inherit a bridge between the capitalist and communist worlds. ■

QUOTATIONS

Stipe Suvar,
President of the Presidium, Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

■ Socialism worldwide, and in Yugoslavia as well, has encountered great difficulties, and is facing severe trials. Practically everywhere it is going through a period of bitter self-criticism and is searching for decisions that will guarantee important changes in the sphere of political and economic relations, consciousness and culture, with a view to making society more democratic and humane. Socialism has entered the stage of reform.

A deadline was once set in the Soviet Union for building the material and technical foundations of communism. The deadline has already passed, but we and the Soviet people, and the world as a whole, are still very far from communism. We are witnessing a complex process of perestroika in the Soviet Union. With Mao's blessing, people's communes were formed and "cultural revolution" was carried out in China in an attempt to build communism in a few years.

The latest, 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party stated that the initial phase of socialism in that country would last for 100 years, that is, until the completion of the "four modernization" programmes and attainment of the planned 4,000 dollars' per capita income of the population.

Didn't we insist on the need for structural changes in 1961 and 1965, when we tried to carry out the first major reforms? Haven't we since 1970 put foward various resolutions aimed at economic stabilization, which is impossible to achieve without drastic changes in the structure of the productive forces and production relations?

Taken on a broad historical plane, socialism is in its initial phase throughout the world, and in Yugoslavia too.

"Vote Republican! The whole world rests on elephants!"
"I beg to disagree with you."

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

James Carter,
former president of the U.S.A.

■ Building its relationship with the Soviets, a future head of the White House cannot disregard the fact that Gorbachev's policy has made a colossal impact on world public opinion... The general public even in the allied NATO states believes that the Soviet leader is committed to the idea of peace and disarmament more deeply than the head of the Washington administration. The new president will also have to reply to such Soviet proposals as a more radical limitation of the arms race.

Jorge Eduardo Ritter,
Foreign Minister of Panama

■ Panama has refused to grant its territory for aggression against Sandinist Nicaragua and has fully supported the Soviet proposal to dismantle all military bases in the world in order to bring about universal security.

We still cherish feelings of friendship and sympathies with the American people and are making considerable efforts to avoid a confrontation with its government. But Washington stubbornly refuses to understand that. In under eighteen months the Reagan administration has managed to bring the bilateral relations to a critical point and to exacerbate anti-U.S. sentiments in Panama to the utmost. The conclusion to be drawn from the above is evident: the United States must understand that the continuation of the "psychological war," muscle flexing, and arm-twisting policy in relation to Panama are fraught with most negative and unpredictable consequences.

R. Venkataraman,
President of India

■ The global problem of curbing the nuclear arms race is considerably more important than any regional problem. Millions of people the world over have already understood that the nuclear weapon does not guarantee peace.

Phyllis Oakley,
spokesman for the U.S. Department of State

■ We believe that Prince Sihanouk should play the central part in a Kampuchean settlement. The United States is giving him vigorous support.

John Pike,
U.S. scientist

The SDI of today is a very different animal than the "star wars" that Reagan suggested five years ago as a shield against the nuclear weapons of "evil empire." Even so, SDI still takes the debate over strategic weapons onto a different plane. This is bound to influence the talks on strategic weapons now on the agenda of the Soviet and American arms negotiators in Geneva. SDI could again become the barrier to a historic treaty, this time, an agreement to rid the world of half of the existing stockpile of the world's strategic weapons.

Second Soviet-American meeting on information exchanges

Through debate to cooperation

An agreement to hold regular discussions on information exchanges was reached just under a year ago, at the Washington summit. Four months later, in April of this year, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) sponsored a meeting of American and Soviet representatives.

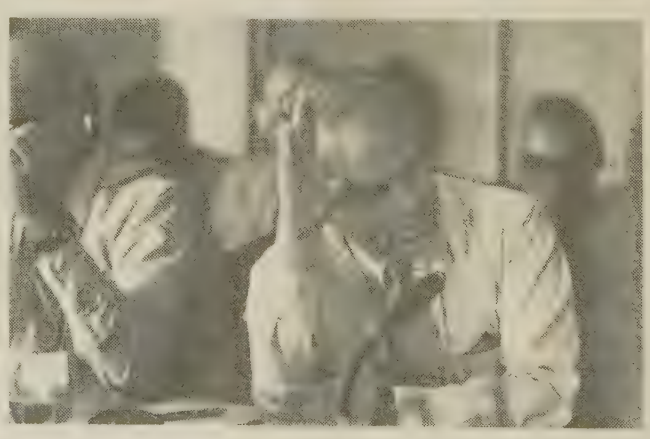
A second meeting, held in Moscow, was attended by 80 prominent American journalists, publishers and film producers. Among them were Charles Wick, director of the USIA, Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, and Donald Kummerfeld, president of the Magazine Publishers Association.

The positions of both sides in the evaluation of the term "misinformation" drew perceptibly closer in the section discussing exchanges at government level. It was decided considerably to increase the reciprocal flow of information for children, young people and students, and to promote exchanges between schools, universities and colleges.

True, the American side had no answer on the issue of parity in broadcasting. People in the Soviet Union can listen without obstruction to American radio stations while Soviet radio programmes are effectively inaccessible to Americans. This is for commercial, technical and other reasons, which explain but do not remove the problem. U.S. representatives have so far expressed readiness to continue talks on the issue.

Tad Szulc, foreign editor of the Parade magazine, and Brand Ayers, editor and publisher of the Anniston Star

Christopher Little, president of Newsweek Inc.



Paul Steinle, president of United Press International

The Americans expressed satisfaction on receiving the news that the Voice of America had been allowed to open an office in Moscow. A correspondent was handed his accreditation card at the final sitting. The American participants responded favourably to their colleagues' request that artificial barriers complicating the work and life of Soviet journalists in the United States be removed.

In the section on film exchanges, the State Committee of the U.S.S.R. for Cinematography concluded an agreement with the Motion Picture Association on the reciprocal protection of copyrights on audio-visual productions, while an agreement with the Motion Picture Export Association similarly regulates the work of producers and film distributors, forms of settlements, and the renting of cinemas.

The opening of an American book centre in Moscow was a conspicuous event at the time of the meeting. The two parties decided to exchange exhibitions of children's books in 1989. In 1990 they plan to exchange exhibitions of books devoted to the 45th anniversary of the end of World War II, and to put out in each country ten-volume collections of stories by children's writers. All this was recorded in an agreement signed by Charles Wick and Mikhail Nenashev, chairman of the State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade.

A meeting of American and Soviet cultural workers is to be held in Moscow next February under the aegis of the Soviet Culture Foundation.

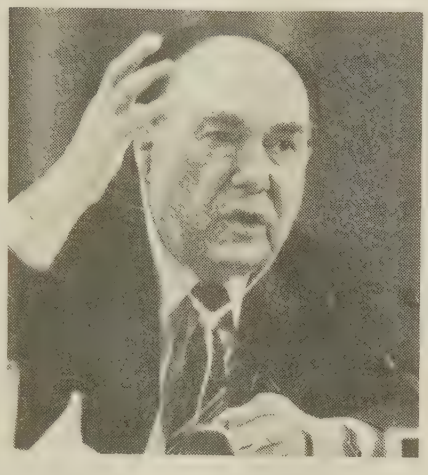
Meeting in their respective sections journalists and newspaper and magazine publishers decided to promote mutual visits by journalists, an exchange of publications, and the distribution of newspapers and magazines.

The implementation of the plans and ideas on which both sides agreed will be controlled by the working groups set up in all sections.

Evgeny Pozdnyakov

Say and hear the truth

Alexander Yakovlev,
ember of the Political Bureau
the CPSU Central Committee,
ecretary of the CPSU Central
ommittee



All of us want to hear the truth about rselves, but the realities of the past few cades are such that the energy and in-ectual potential of thousands of ople are being expended in fabricating ruths, complimentary with respect to rselves and denigrating with respect to opponent. A great deal of sophistica-goes into this, but the amorality of ception is becoming increasingly r. Satirists in propaganda establish-nts are sharpening their pens to the nt where they run the risk of exhaust-their physical and moral resources.

inheritance we would better off without

egrettably, we are living in a world full contradictions, myths and prejudices. acquisition of greater knowledge is ding the edifice of psychological war-. but its roof is still part of the skyline. am convinced that the Soviet-Ameri-meeting on the issue of exchanges not be merely destructive with re-ct to a shared inheritance both coun-s would be better off without, but also structive, for its purpose is to prom-cooperation and trust.

hat is the reason why I am particularly sed to welcome the participants in present meeting to Moscow. While yet routine, such meetings are ertheless perceived as normal, ural and necessary. That is a sign of changes for the better that have con-ed to take place in Soviet-American ions, and of a shared desire to con-e to promote mutual understanding.

is contribution is based on Alexander vlev's speech at a Soviet-American meet-n Moscow on the issue of exchanges in the es of information, publishing, culture and rts.

Several days ago I met with the director of the USIA, Charles Wick, and it occurred to us that before the Geneva summit of 1985 we would not even have begun to think of meetings of this kind. We are now once again discussing what can be done to slough off the burden of the past.

There are grounds for satisfaction with what has been achieved to date, but we in the Soviet Union would prefer not to be complacent, but to try to find out what further steps can be taken to stabilize, enrich and promote Soviet-American relations.

That we want normal relations with the United States is, as far as we are concerned, axiomatic. At best, no one gained anything from confrontation. In today's world, given the close-knit military, political, ecological and other realities, we simply cannot afford to continue to flex our muscles, nor, indeed, do we have the right to do so. Infantile irrationality must yield to the imperatives of reason; that is the essence of the new thinking.

For us, it is also axiomatic that abandoning the values and attitudes of our respective societies would be an unacceptable price for normal relations. The fundamental traits of different societies cannot be changed by decree, and whatever illusions may be entertained on that score are extremely dangerous and fraught with unpredictability.

Normal relations are not a concession to the other side, and trust is not a charitable gesture, but a reciprocal process crucial to the survival of mankind in today's world. That is not a hypothesis or theory, but a reality that has been borne out by, among other things, the developments of the early 1980s, when we were able to see and feel what tragic paroxysms a revival of the cold war today might lead to.

Survival

The task of survival is twofold. There are two interrelated, but different aspects to it.

First, we must prevent a nuclear war and get rid of the threat that is constantly hanging over us, and in the long term, get rid of the threat of war in general. Herein is the principal source of mistrust and suspicion, and it will persist for as long as the threat of war continues to exist.

In any other area, to be mistaken in one's trust may cause economic losses, political damage, or psychological stress, but those are things that can be got over. To be mistaken in one's trust over military-political matters is tantamount to placing the existence of mankind in jeopardy.

Some people say that all is in God's hands, others that all is in man's hands, but we must give man confidence that the very possibility of a nuclear holocaust can be removed once and for all.

That is why we believe that progress in Soviet-American relations is a clue to progress in every other area, and that is why we are convinced that every move here must be made on a footing of reciprocity, for otherwise there can be no success.

The second aspect of the problem of survival is that we must learn to take our cooperation beyond the task of averting nuclear war, extending it to all other areas. We must amass experience and expand the international legal foundations for progress. We must expand the sphere of cooperation and learn to be mutually tolerant of what might appear to be peculiar thinking on the part of the other side.

Looking back on Soviet-American relations over the past 40 years, there is every reason to say that it was here that each successive failure after each successive period of normalization was more pronounced than anywhere else. It was the lack of skills, or perhaps of the desire to

work for normal cooperation and adopt a calm and sober attitude towards differences, clashing interests, misunderstandings and ill-conceived moves, that led to these failures.

Quite recently neither of the two sides expected anything good of the other. That situation is incompatible with security, for it results in a situation of permanent insecurity. Nor is it compatible with normal cooperation and reasonable and rational prospects. Ultimately, it is incompatible with survival.

Trust

We have made progress towards greater trust and more constructive relations over the past three years. If we were to backslide now, both the achievements of the past few years and the methods whereby they were attained would be called into question, to the disappointment of the whole world.

Both sides now have something to lose, and my own view is that the shared awareness of this is one of the most important gains in our relations. It induces us to pay attention to issues that were not in the past given top priority.

In essence, as I have pointed out, there has evolved a rigid **mechanism of counteraction** in our relations over long decades, and this goes for the sphere of information exchanges. The integral components of that mechanism have been tried and tested. It applies in particular to the political and psychological attitudes to and expectations of a particular kind of statement, mutual assessment and so on. It is high time we abandoned that mechanism.

What we need is a **mechanism for constructive cooperation** between our two countries so that in the end it can oust the mechanism of counteraction. This calls, among other things, for a deeply ingrained critical attitude to the clichés and symbols to which we have grown accustomed.

In other words, we must attune the public mind in both countries to a new thinking based on mutual respect and trust, for otherwise the efforts undertaken by politicians in keeping with the requirements of the day and their good work may be blocked by a wall of intellectual and psychological misperception.

I am not calling for any kind of manipulation of public opinion, far from it. Any attempts at manipulating public opinion even with the best of intentions in respect to such vital issues as Soviet-American relations would inevitably increase mistrust and suspicion. There must be no manipulation of public opinion for any purposes, good or bad. Sound business must rely on a sound foundation of truth and honesty.

The need for restructuring concerns everyone, but I am not trying to say that the ball is now in the U.S. court. There is work to be done **all round.**

In gaining experience in the struggle for survival anyone who wants to achieve anything must be psychologically, morally and intellectually prepared. If we want stability, reliable security, cooperation and trust in Soviet-American relations, we must approach the task facing us responsibly. It would be naive to suppose that these complex objectives can be attained without an effort, or if one side imposes its will and its own approaches on the other. That is clearly unacceptable for us and for you, now or at any time in future.

What practical steps can be taken with a view to establishing such an institution of cooperation between our two countries? We have made our choice and termed that choice and the philosophy behind it the new political thinking.

It arises from restructuring and the renewal of society. I will not dwell here on how difficult it was to adopt it and what political courage it required. Nor shall I dwell on the fact that objectively we are taking a risk, the more so as we are hearing a variety of views, and those who would like to replace the present confrontation with confrontation of another kind are vocal.

But, nevertheless, restructuring in international affairs is based on the assessment of the course taken by the world today and international relations and of what really constitutes the long-term interests of the Soviet Union and the United States.

I would like to say a few words now about our home affairs and their long-term dimension. At the moment heated debates are under way in this country and some people may come to various conclusions, erroneous conclusions among them, having watched these debates from the outside. Total clarity here is in the best interests of both sides.

It is the purpose of restructuring to consolidate socialism, develop it and open up new prospects. This goes for both home and foreign policies. We are analyzing our past and trying to find out whether all that we did was done in the best possible way. We are learning from our mistakes, and that is a very intensive process.

It would be quite wrong to assume that it is our dearest dream merely to copy the Western economic and political system. We are prepared to use all the very best that is suitable for us, and we are prepared to borrow it from other countries and nations, including the West. But we intend to go our **own** way, using our **own** minds, and build and develop our **own** society.

There have been many debates and speculations in the West over our policy of glasnost and its content and limits. I must say bluntly that glasnost means abandoning the lie and all its forms, along with deliberate self-deception, convenient deletions, and so on.

Glasnost is strength and courage and the ability to face the truth, and we are committed to it in our domestic and foreign affairs alike. It follows from this that we must pool our efforts in building new human relations.

We congratulate American scientists, engineers, technicians and astronauts upon the success of their Discovery shuttle mission – the first one after the Challenger disaster two and a half years ago.

Five veteran astronauts have put into orbit, by means of their "shuttle," a communication satellite, demonstrating that the ship can be used as a transport. The mission just accomplished is of great importance for space exploration and is certain to go a long way towards the solution of practical problems in the field of latest technology. On the Discovery launching day, the U.S., Canada, Japan and nine West European countries signed an agreement on developing an orbital space station by joint effort. Following the success of the Shuttle programme hopes for further progress in the field have revived.

The Challenger disaster, the biggest accident in the history of space exploration, was a bad blow not only to American astronautics. Having dramatically demonstrated the inevitable faults of space technology, the tragedy caused doubts in and outside the U.S.A. as to the need for continued space research, and undermined confidence in its further progress at the present junction. All the more so since no one is error-proof in this relatively new sphere of activity. One must give those working on the Space Shuttle project their due – these courageous and purposeful people remain as confident of success, and as determined to succeed as ever.

After the Challenger accident, there have appeared in the U.S. a host of publications analyzing its causes and assessing the Space Shuttle programme from various angles.

Michael Potter, an American colleague of mine, and myself have also written a small article, published in the U.S.A. recently, in which we discussed certain causes of the accident and some political aspects of the programme implementation which entailed technical problems and errors. Looking back, I must admit that I must have got infected with my co-author's critical frame of mind. He had every moral right to criticize his country's space programme, while I wouldn't like my viewpoint to be interpreted by anyone

The Shuttle comes back

Vadim Vlasov

s a sign of malevolence. After all, space esearch is our common cause. And I do ope that the time of politicizing and nilitarizing space ventures is on its way ut. If Soviet-American relations in space re to be confined to business competi-ion. it will by no means interfere with the evelopment of cooperation, which is the nly reasonable course open to us in the phere of space research.

From emotions o analysis

Strictly speaking, the history of Ameri-an astronautics began with the plan for nanned flights to the Moon set forth by resident John Kennedy in his address to ongress on May 25, 1961. Shaken by ne Soviet launching of the first ever artifi-ial earth satellite and the first ever man-ed spaceship, America was bent on aving the country's political face by eply action. Considerations of prestige ook precedence then over any other onsiderations – scientific, technical and even military ones. The entire national space programme was geared to the realization of the costliest and the most ambitious projects of all – that of landing the first man on the Moon.

The dream came true at last, but many in the United States began to have second thoughts about astronautics and even accused the extravagant Apollo project of having made inroads into the nation's material resources, which aggravated social problems and adversely affected many branches of the economy. Such attitudes, plus the frequent reproachful reminders of the Apollo project's cost (25 billion dollars) were among the reasons why the plans for a manned flight to Mars received no public and political support in the late sixties.

The Nixon administration attempted to stabilize the situation. Rather than seeing the Apollo project through, it cancelled the last missions on the programme and ordered, in March 1970, the development of an entirely new reusable space transport system (Space Shuttle project).

The project was supposed to embody new American "space philosophy" which called for a more systematic and pragmatic development of space research.

Nevertheless, political and/or ideological considerations were responsible for the slow pace of the feasibility studies involved and the progress of the Space Shuttle project proper, although the Space Shuttle system promised a fantastic economic effect: the cost of launching it in terms of payload unit was expected to constitute a third or even a fifth of that of lifting off a Titan-type non-recoverable carrier rocket.

Plans and reality

As the drawing-board stage of the project was drawing to a close it became clear that the originally estimated cost of the project (6 billion dollars) would be exceeded. Towards the end of 1984, actual expenditures on carrying out the programme were put by some sources at 15 billion dollars. The job, completed in the

Every mission under the Space Shuttle programme has its logo. Left: the logo of the latest, 26th, Discovery mission; right: that of the Challenger.

early eighties, was meagerly funded, and the solutions given to the technical and political problems involved were referred to, during the inquiry into the causes of the Challenger tragedy, as negligence of the astronauts' lives. In its report, the presidential commission of inquiry listed over 700 spaceship components and assemblies, including solid-fuel boost motor fasteners, every one of which, if faulty, could cause ship destruction and loss of the astronauts' lives. William Rogers, the ex-Secretary of State (the head of the commission), the astronaut Neil Armstrong, the first woman astronaut Sally Ride and other commission members said that the accident had been kind of built into the project at its early stages.

A list of errors is not confined to the technical ones, however. The initial twenty flights by the "shuttles" of the series – Challenger, Discovery, Enterprise and Columbia – proved all preliminary economic calculations wrong. Recurrent malfunctions, latent fault which called for improvements originally not provided for, and even theoretical miscalculations sent the cost of one launching to 120-140 million dollars and of orbiting one kilo of payload – to 2,000–4,000 dollars.

The U.S. Defence Department also bears part of the blame for what has happened. Beginning with the fifteenth mission, carried out under the Pentagon's secret programme and practically not covered by the media, shuttle launchings for strictly military pruposes became regular practice. The launching and flight schedules thrashed out by the military and NASA in heated debates, were extremely tight. The military demanded a great deal, and NASA's cash and material resources were limited. That might also have played a part in sealing Challenger's fate. Another problem was a shortage of spares; after Columbia had made a close landing at Edwards Air Force base, some of its assemblies and equipment were removed and mounted on Challenger already undergoing pre-lift-off servicing procedures.

Looking for the way to cooperation

Malcolm McConnell, the author of better known and more objective books about the Challenger accident, describes the atmosphere of that tragical morning of January 28 as follows: "Mission control spokesman Steve Nesbitt sat above the four console tiers. For a long moment he stared around the silent, softly lit room. The red ascent trajectory line was stationary on the display screen across the room. Finally, he spoke: 'Flight controllers here looking very carefully at the situation. Obviously a major malfunction.'"

There has been a period of malfunction in the entire U.S. space programme system. Heavy damage was done to the prestige of American astronautics which President Kennedy had been so greatly concerned with. Many research and industrial projects were cancelled. The launchings of even the barely essential meteorological, navigational and communication satellites cost enormous effort. The pause which lasted for over two years and a half compelled many countries which had contemplated buying the Space Shuttle services to turn their gaze to the European Space Agency, now making turbulent progress, and to the Ariane-V carrier rocket.

Those sceptical and critical about the project have contributed to the present success of the Discovery in their own way. They have made it abundantly clear that criticism is a way to correct past mistakes. In the final analysis, it enhances the efficiency of government control over this promising field of scientific and technological progress. The successful September 29 lift-off of the Discovery – following about 600 improvements worth a total of over 3.5 billion dollars made over the past two-odd years – bears this out.

A success is a success. So far, few people see international cooperation in space research as a way to avoid duplication, to enhance the reliability and economic efficiency of spacecraft through the pooling of expert efforts. We have already gained some experience of such cooperation. The Soyuz-Apollo Soviet-U.S. joint mission was a graphic example of what cooperation between the two space superpowers can bring. The programme for a joint manned mission to Mars, now under discussion, will probably become the next milestone in the history of joint space exploration. ■

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EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

The outlook for Soviet-U.S. relations looks bright

The "hard nuts" at Soviet-American talks, the future of Soviet-U.S. relations, and the United Nations' role in the life of the world community are the main points of the talk our correspondent had in New York with Deputy Foreign Minister **ALEXANDER BESSMERTNYKH**

The speeches of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and President Reagan of the United States set the tone for the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Despite all the shades of difference in the Soviet and American approaches to international affairs, for the first time in recent years the representatives of the biggest superpowers have given equally positive assessments of the role of the U.N. in solving the problems of the world community.

Eduard Shevardnadze spoke of the new world calendar. 1988 was marked by such events as the Soviet-American INF treaty, the Geneva accords on a political settlement around Afghanistan, the first act of nuclear missiles destruction, and the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war. All those, the Soviet minister noted, were changes stemming from reason. He spoke of the need to exclude ideological differences and their pressurizing effect from foreign policy and diplomacy. That forms the philosophical basis for the radical changes proposed by Moscow today for our common home – the earth. The achievements of 1988 give hope for the implementation of such Soviet initiatives as safe environmental regime on a world scale, the setting up of a world space organization, the drafting of terms of reference for negotiations on restricting the world armaments market and others.

The Soviet and American representatives were also in complete agreement on another point: they both noted the positive effect of Soviet-American relations on present-day processes in the world community.

Shortly before the opening of the session, Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz completed another round of talks in Washington. Taking advantage of the fact that the principal participants in these talks had flown from Washington to New York for the session, I met Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister **Alexander Bessmertnykh,** who has been an invariable participant in the Soviet-American dialogue.

What had the meeting produced for our future relations with the United States, and consequently for the world community?

To begin with, he replied, we did not see it as a sort of farewell. We have a firm concept of how to conduct affairs with the U.S. at the present stage. In the past the run-up to the presidential elections and the elections themselves doomed our relations to a certain passivity. From both sides – the American and ours.

It was considered that a time when Americans were pondering on the future of their leadership was not appropriate for diplomatic activity. This time our views underwent what I regard as a very correct transformation. This stemmed from the fact that relations between the two countries had advanced to a new level.

In the present circumstances, after four summits and 29 meetings of foreign ministers, we felt it would not make sense to create a pause in our contacts with the American leadership. So the task could now be formulated as follows: to work with the present administration right to the end, if it is prepared to do the same. And it has shown such preparedness. Therefore we shall work with the Reagan administration for as long and as intensively as it wants to itself.

The talks in Washington took place within the framework of this concept: several rounds of intensive talks with George Shultz totalling 10-12 hours of pure negotiating time. There were also meetings with President Reagan and Vice-President George Bush. Experts worked hard on arms limitation, humanitarian issues, bilateral matters and regional problems.

And what did all this work produce?

First of all it consolidated continuity: we carried on along the lines clearly delineated by our leaders at the Moscow summit. Certain aims had been set before the two foreign ministries and the experts of the two countries, and we tried to attain them. That is the first thing.

Secondly, we specifically went through all outstanding problems. In the field of security this meant that we discussed the situation first of all at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space armaments, and not only from the point of view of their present status, but also that of further progress at these talks.

In this field we did achieve something. I don't want to exaggerate – there was no qualitative breakthrough. Nor did we expect one. But we made progress on concrete negotiating points. This applies first of all to the limitation of air-based cruise missiles and heavy bombers, as well as defining the questions connected with control over future restrictions on mobile inter-

Eduard Shevardnadze, Ronald Reagan and George Shultz meet again

From the International Herald Tribune (U.S.A.)

continental ballistic missiles. We had some serious discussion of such "hard nuts" as talks on ABM and sea-based cruise missiles. But, unfortunately, on these two questions little progress was made. Nevertheless, such a discussion does give us something. I think it offered the Americans another opportunity to see the limits within which they will have to act in this field, whether they want to or not. As for the ABM treaty, we had an interesting discussion on the Krasnoyarsk radar station. Mikhail Gorbachev's latest initiative undoubtedly opened up a new possibility for removing this irritant from the agenda of our negotiations.

We must give the Americans their due – they did not reject the Soviet proposal out of hand.

But there were quite a number of outright rejections in the press.

In the press, yes. But we talked directly to those who make policy and felt that there really is an interest.

Frankly speaking, there is no unanimity in the administration on this matter. Some cling to the old positions, which in the past perhaps did give Washington certain propaganda points, but there are also others who favour removing this question. And Mikhail Gorbachev's initiative offers such an opportunity. That is why the Secretary of State George Shultz and a number of experts believe, as the American side puts it, that a direction has been set and that it could offer a way out.

We believe that a way out has already been found. We have invited the Americans to take part in international centre for the peaceful use of outer space which would be set up on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk station, and we hope that they will take part in the project. But its setting up does not depend on American participation or non-participation. The centre must be founded. We are inviting scientists from different countries. But of course it would be desirable for both world space powers to take part in its work.

But why has the Krasnoyarsk station been such an irritant? After all, a group of American Congressmen and experts visited it more than a year ago and their visit showed clearly that the station could not operate in the military range...

The American press and certain representatives of the administration deliberately kept harping on this irritant in order to hold back negotations when they felt they were advancing too fast. Or possibly because they wanted to ensure certain departures from the ABM treaty, which would be inevitable were the United States to develop and deploy military space systems. I think they needed Krasnoyarsk as a pretext either for violating the ABM treaty, or for pulling out of it, or for replacing it with something else.

But we so prize that treaty as a document of exceptional importance for future strategic stability that we are prepared to remove the cause of American concern, even if it isn't quite sincere. Because whether that concern is sincere or not is known only to those who express it, while the ordinary reader or viewer might believe that it is indeed very serious. So for the sake of those who do not know the truth of the matter we have decided to eliminate this "pretext."

What other questions were discussed?

Chemical weapons. We put forward a number of interesting suggestions. And there seems to be quite a promising prospect for the conclusion of a convention on the total and general prohibition of chemical weapons.

We also discussed conventional armaments, the entire complex of problems connected with the Vienna talks on the CSCE and European security. We did not manage to come to a final agreement on the subject of the future talks on reducing conventional armaments and troops from the Atlantic to the Urals, but the chances of reaching such an agreement are better than before.

Well, of course we discussed regional problems, with particular emphasis on Afghanistan. The situation there is giving rise to anxiety, since the Geneva accords are being openly violated by Pakistan. Pakistan is an American ally, and the United States is one of the guarantors of the Geneva accords. The discussion was very frank, firm and unequivocal. I think the U.S. and Pakistan will realize that patience has its limits.

Bilateral relations were considered chiefly in a working group. There, too, prospects are promising, with opportunities opening up for new agreements. We appreciate these opportunities. But what makes us wary is that some problems remain unresolved. For instance, our embassy's status in Washington, our representation in New York, and especially working conditions for Soviet journalists. The U.S. discriminatory stance is cause for serious concern.

Thank you for backing us. My next question is, what do you think of President Reagan's U.N. speech, perhaps the last political speech of the present U.S. President?

I thought it a normal speech, the kind that should be made from that rostrum.

What I found interesting for myself, as a person who works on Soviet-American relations, was – and I think we should appreciate this – his assessment of the role of Soviet-American relations in international stability and in ensuring a normal course of world affairs in the future.

In some ways the speech reminded me of that made by President Nixon in the U.N. in the 1970s, when he also spoke of Soviet-American relations.

I think it worth noting that the President, perhaps for the first time during his years in office, or even the first time for many years, spoke positively of the significance of the United Nations. That echoes the views of the Soviet leadership.

The speech was not without the usual stereotypes. One could hear the familiar clichés with regard to Cuba and Nicaragua. They did little to enhance his speech. But perhaps they were designed for a different audience, because I don't think those present at the General Assembly meeting received them with enthusiasm.

What does Soviet diplomacy expect from the current General Assembly session? Especially since the special summer session on disarmament did not end in the way many had expected...

I think the present session of the General Assembly will promote détente – excuse my using a word which some people consider outmoded – and confidence that the U.N. really is coming to play the role not merely of a forum used for purposes both noble and otherwise by representatives of different countries, but as an organization actively promoting positive processes in the world.

It seems to me that by its actions and discussions the session will crystallize the real need for a world security system – military, economic, ecological and humanitarian. To use a popular word, one can now feel a consensus on this.

The most important thing that the 43rd session of the General Assembly can produce is a wider field of mutual understanding between different countries. We cannot live as we lived in the past. One can't think exclusively of purely national egoistical interests, overlooking truly universal problems.

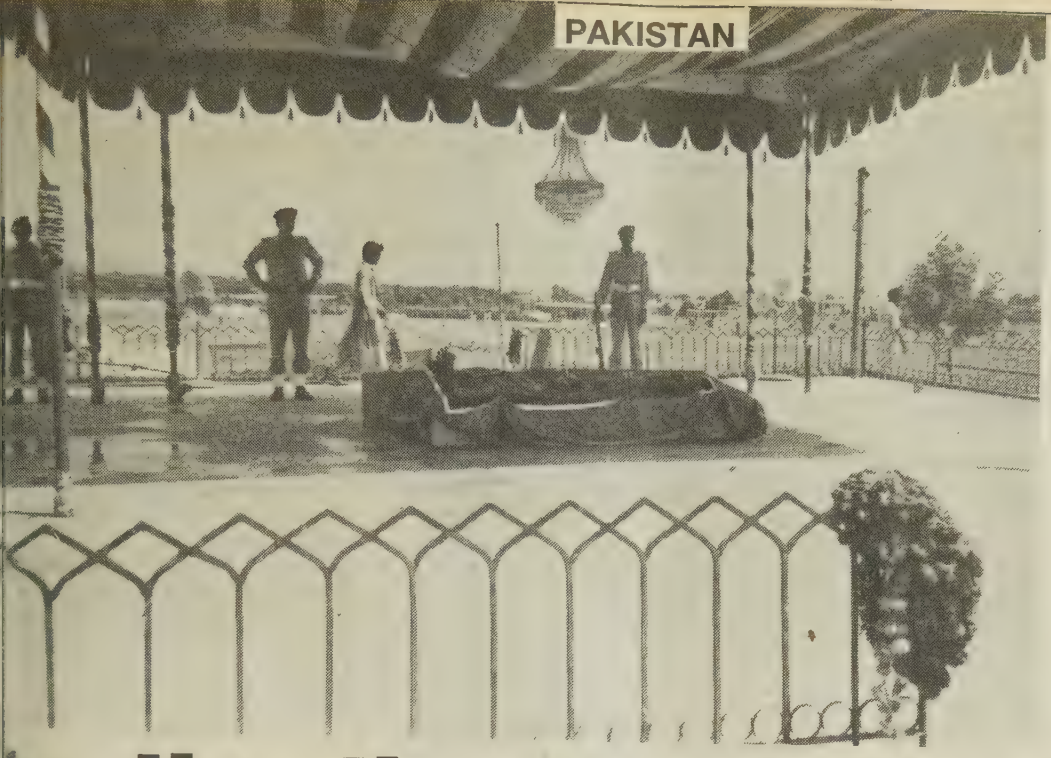
I don't know whether this is realized by the representatives of many countries, but signs of the new way of thinking initiated by the Soviet Union are evident.

So I am optimistic. I see positive prospects for the session. Bilateral interests are becoming more closely intertwined with multilateral interests, and bilateral diplomacy with multilateral diplomacy, and they are having an increasingly harmonious influence on the general direction of world politics.

Evgeny Andrianov

our own correspondent

NEW YORK



Standing guard over the tomb of their leader are his favourite infantry soldiers. The wreaths could have been placed by a minister or a peasant, a rich man or a poor one.

n the throes of illusions

hy the Zia ra continues foreign policy...

The word Islam means submission. ur foreign policy is completely subordite to the imperatives of peace. Peaceleness is the keynote of our actions on e world scene.

That was how Ashraf Jahangir Qazi, ditional Secretary of Foreign Affairs, mmed up his country's foreign policy orities. Disarmament and global détente, he said, are of course excellent ngs. The agreements between Mikhail rbachev and Ronald Reagan can only welcomed. But Pakistan is not a great wer and it is interested, primarily, in at is happening around it. First and emost, the country needs good relans with its neighbours. Secondly, it eds to develop ties with Islamic couns, with which it has common spiritual ues. Finally, the country is taking an inasingly active part in the non-aligned vement. At its forums, Pakistan is pred to discuss not only political, but o economic problems, as all the deoping countries have similar troubles.

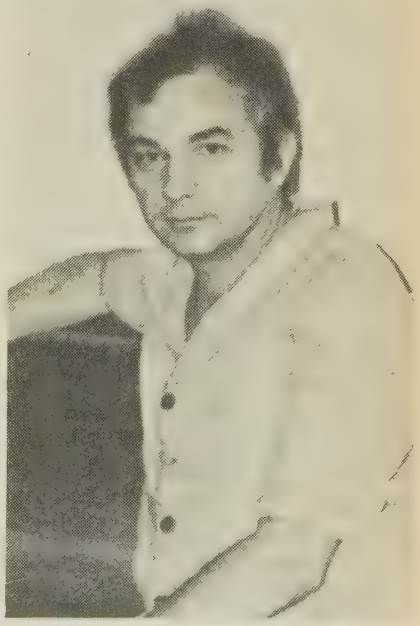
Of course, the diplomat stressed, se priorities do not stand in the way of ties with other countries, for instance, with the West or with the socialist world.

Qazi spoke with passion. His Oxford English was larded with eastern proverbs. Listening to him was a great pleasure. That is the way – with brilliance and ease – one should speak of a policy that is made up of paradoxes. Illusions are dispelled later, when there is no time for discussion.

Faith and truth

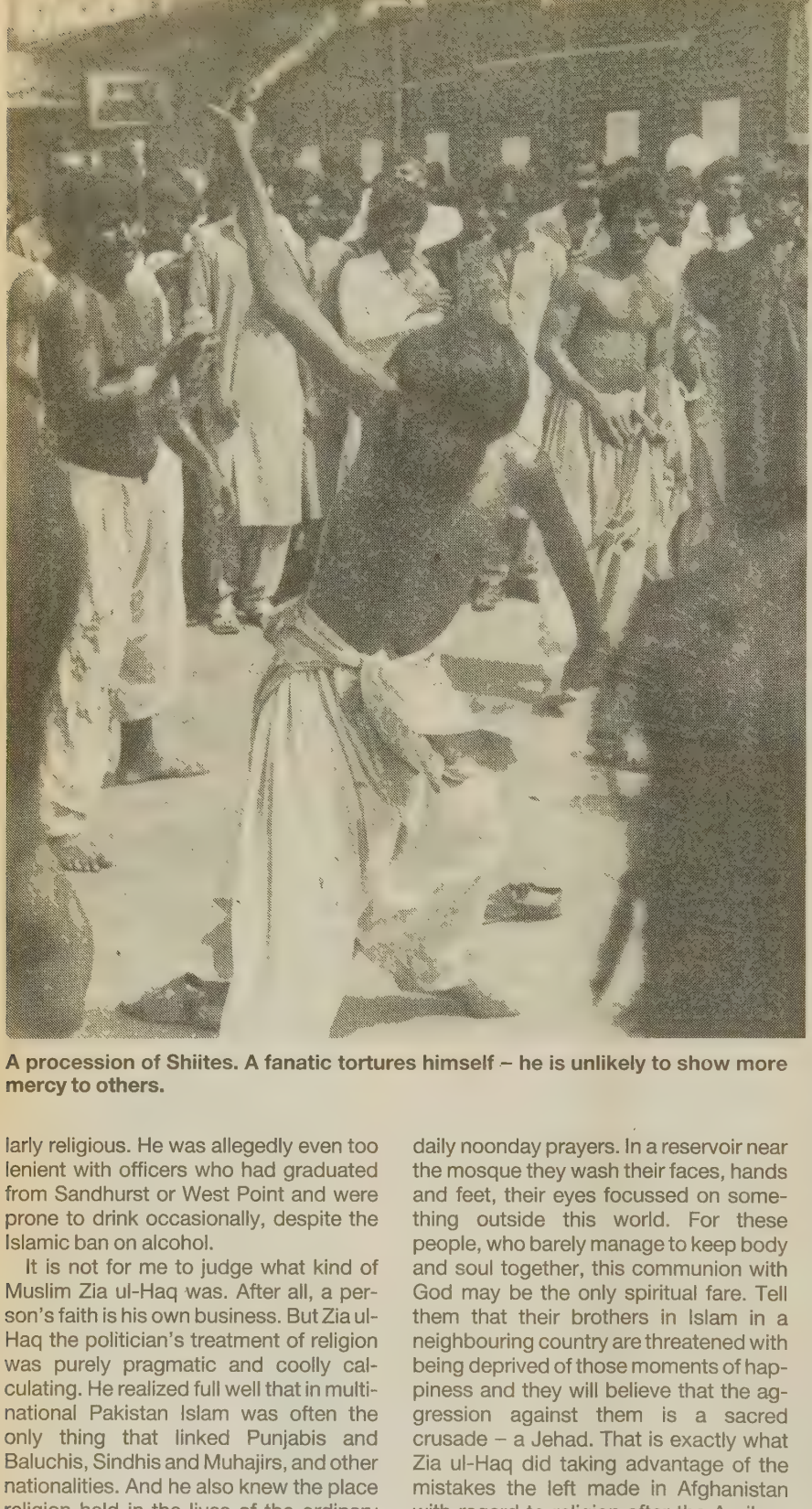
Good relations with neighbours? But what about Pakistan's support for the subversive activities against the government of Afghanistan with which diplomatic relations exist and Geneva agreements have been signed? A non-aligned country? But what about the direct military alliance with the U.S. – not a paper alliance, but an effectively operating one?

The Pakistan leadership has been manoeuvring for the past ten years so that these questions should not crop up too often. Islamabad left CENTO – and there was one less military bloc in the world. At the United Nations the voice of the Pakistani delegate has joined the chorus of those who are demanding the abolition of the apartheid regime, a peaceful settlement in Central America, and a just solution to the Palestinian problem. That has increased the prestige of Pakistan in the Muslim world, on whose behalf Zia ul-Haq spoke on many an occasion in the United Nations. In general, the late President's attitude towards Islam is rather a curious one. The press at times portrayed him almost as a fanatic. And in Islamabad a Pakistani colleague of mine tried to convince me of the opposite, maintaining that Zia was not particu-



Ashraf Jahangir Qazi: peaceableness is the keynote of Pakistan's actions.

ntinued from issue No.40, 1988



A procession of Shiites. A fanatic tortures himself – he is unlikely to show more mercy to others.

larly religious. He was allegedly even too lenient with officers who had graduated from Sandhurst or West Point and were prone to drink occasionally, despite the Islamic ban on alcohol.

It is not for me to judge what kind of Muslim Zia ul-Haq was. After all, a person's faith is his own business. But Zia ul-Haq the politician's treatment of religion was purely pragmatic and coolly calculating. He realized full well that in multinational Pakistan Islam was often the only thing that linked Punjabis and Baluchis, Sindhis and Muhajirs, and other nationalities. And he also knew the place religion held in the lives of the ordinary people.

The road-sweepers make do with a piece of rain-proof cloth on four poles instead of a roof. In such shelters they are born, live and die. In a poor suburb of Karachi I saw sweepers preparing for the daily noonday prayers. In a reservoir near the mosque they wash their faces, hands and feet, their eyes focussed on something outside this world. For these people, who barely manage to keep body and soul together, this communion with God may be the only spiritual fare. Tell them that their brothers in Islam in a neighbouring country are threatened with being deprived of those moments of happiness and they will believe that the aggression against them is a sacred crusade – a Jehad. That is exactly what Zia ul-Haq did taking advantage of the mistakes the left made in Afghanistan with regard to religion after the April revolution.

It would be naive to think that the crafty Americans drew Zia ul-Haq into the subversive actions against Afghanistan against his will. The war in the neighbouring country was a chance that the usurper of power, the man who retained power longer than any of his predecessors, couldn't miss. For the Washington administration the "drive against Kabul" is after all only part of its overall global strategy. For the late President of Pakistan, this aggression was the most important instrument in setting up a political system, which would, he believed, perpetuate his power.

War as a breadwinner

The minute your car stalls in a traffic jam, it is immediately surrounded by street hawkers. They offer you odds and ends such as strings of tiny pearls and ther latest offering are calendars and portraits of Zia ul-Haq. The general in military uniform or traditional Mulsim dress, with or without children around him. These photographs are to be seen in shopwindows and on the doors of buses. Far from everyone, but many people do honour the memory of the dead President. What brought him such popularity? Was it, as the local papers insist, only the manner of his death that made him martyr?

Zia ul-Haq did not leave palaces and limousines to his heirs. His son and other members of his family did not make fabulous careers. The General was an honest man. But he firmly believed that it was impossible to come to power in Pakistan by honest means, let alone retain that power. An unbribable ascetic, he believed that buying the backing of entire sections of society was just as permissible a weapon in politics as violence. And he proved successful – he achieved absolute power and used it unhesitatingly As one Pakistani journalist wrote, the President was his own finance minister foreign minister and even his own press officer.

Unilateral power is today a luxury for some reason to be found most often in the poorer nations. The 11 years of the Zia era cost Pakistan 14 billion dollars in foreign debts. Per capita that comes to about 25 per cent more than the national income. The money was not spent on development. The General displayed only intermittent interest in the economy. Of the ambitious 5-year plans there remains only the legend that South Korea copied one of them, and by implementing it made a place for itself among the most developed industrial countries in the world.

The loans were eaten up by the army the state apparatus and the bourgeoisie which is linked with the state sector, and the big landowners. In recent decades defence expenditure increased fourteen fold, while the bureaucracy now costs four times as much as it had before. State enterprises, instead of making profits of 30 billion rupees as had been planned operate at a loss. But they are a source of income for thousands of bureaucratic managers, most of them former officers and aristocratic and bourgeois offshoots

But the lower classes also got something. The General built schools and hospitals. Philanthropy assumed sweeping proportions shortly before elections were due, which the General staged from 1985 on to introduce an element of variety to the dictatorship. Money from the state coffers was given generously so that Zia's party, the Pakistan Muslim League, would be sure to win. Incidentally, after announcing elections for November 16, the President seemed to have doubts as to the loyalty of some party leaders and decided to hold them on a non-party basis. And the date was not chosen at random. The main opponent of Zia's supporters, Benazir Bhutto, who is expecting a baby, would be in the last days of her pregnancy at the final and most important stage of the election campaign.

What were the hopes of the American creditors who financed the General's regime? Clearly they were not relying on the country's gold and currency reserves, which this year totalled 633 million dollars, thus falling below the level set by the World Bank for proclaiming bankruptcy. The credits were given exclusively for the undeclared war against Afghanistan. That war also excused all the other sins of the regime: the lack of democracy, the suspicious nuclear programme, the blind eye turned to the drug trade. So could the General sincerely have wanted the bloodshed in the neighbouring country to be stopped?

Pakistan has spent 1.5 billion dollars on the upkeep of Afghan refugees in the past eight years. But how much does it cost the country to arm the mujaheddin?

The chief analyst among Pakistani journalists – editor-in-chief of The Muslim Maleeha Lodhi. Her paper's motto is "the press and the nation rise and fall together."

The power of the dead

Maleeha Lodhi, editor of the prestigious newspaper The Muslim, wrote that a struggle is now under way in Pakistan between forces symbolized by two dead men – Zia ul-Haq and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. But if the latter left as his legacy a vague idea of "Pakistani socialism" that can be interpreted in any way, the General left his structure of power and his men.

They intend to rule by the same methods as the General did. At meetings they promise to build eleven schools instead of the previously promised three, seven hospitals instead of one and so on. According to the opposition papers, millions of rupees have already been made available for social development to those constituencies where the opposition is still strong. No one in the country doubts that if Zia's heirs look like losing power, they will resort to violence. As a prominent member of the opposition, Pir Sahib of Pagaro said, they are capable of following Indonesia's example, kill about 15-20 thousand people and then rule forever. There have been reports in the press that after Zia ul-Haq's death one of his ministers asked the Chief of Staff of the ground forces, General Aslam Beg, to intervene and introduce martial law. When the general replied that he intended to abide firmly by the law, the same people tried to incite senior officers to stage a putsch. But for once their appeals remained unheeded.

So at present one cannot expect changes in Pakistan's foreign policy. The tension around Afghanistan remains, as it was for Zia, one of the most important sources of power for his heirs. Even though today one can already see the catastrophic consequences of such political egoism: debts, refugees, an economy on the brink of chaos. But, the experts believe, the main bill for the Afghan venture has not yet been presented for payment...

The stagnation in development is a time-bomb which the general has planted under the prosperity of future generations of Pakistanis.

Vladimir Kulistikov,
our special correspondent

Photos from The Herald (Pakistan), Akhtar Hasan, E. Alexandrov and the author

ISLAMABAD – KARACHI – MOSCOW

(to be continued)

Ruins and castles

Managua embodies the country's fate and the character of its residents.

This one-storey city devoid of street lamps and pavements strikes a newcomer as odd. In the centre one sees vast tracts of wasteland and carcases of what were once the two- and three-storey buildings shattered by the catastrophic 1972 earthquake (most of them collapsed and have disappeared without trace). Managua is situated among extinct volcanoes. You can drive right across it in 30 minutes or so to find yourself on the shore of a lake bearing the poetical Indian name of Xolotlan. Such proximity to Managua is no blessing: for a century all the city's waste has been going into its waters. In dull weather, from the distance the lake looks like a vast asphalt-coated square. Even on a bright sunny day it is not a gladsome sight.

The fate of Managua itself has not been a bed of roses either. It became the capital by sheer chance in 1858 when the authorities decided to put an end, at last, to the long-standing dispute between the two main aspirants to the title, Leon and Granada, which still retain the grandeur of Spanish colonial architecture. Nevertheless, Managua had acquired a certain amount of metropolitan gloss before the fatal year of 1972. Unfortunately, this survived only in photographs, some of which are on display in the Los Antojitos restaurant, for example. The earthquake swallowed up thirteen square kilometres of the centre of Managua, effectively destroying the capital. As a Leon resident told me, "Managua should never have been the capital; nature itself is against it. Just wait and see; one day it will punish the stubborn Managuans again." Another earthquake is expected to hit the city in the mid-nineties.

In the meantime, a visitor has the impression that Managua hasn't yet quite recovered from the most recent disaster. It lacks indispensable features of big cities such as pavements and boulevards, and by 7 p.m. the Nicaraguan capital plunges into total darkness, its streets (except in the very centre) becoming virtually deserted. At that time of the day it is better not to go on a visit to an unfamiliar part of the city. Few street signs have survived. For instance, the official address of a newsman I know goes as follows: half a block from where the Embassy of Ecuador used to stand, twenty steps up.

Many here ask: when will Managua start to change? Nine years ago, the revolution gave the people hope of renovation. The Sandinist government drew up impressive plans for the reconstruction of the capital, and conceived an ambitious programme of social equality and justice. In accordance with these plans, it was expected that Managua will not sprout the skyscrapers typical of other Latin American capitals, thus precluding traditional modern big-city ills – turbulent urbanization and congestion. A park city on the shore of a glittering lake, it will harmonize with its environment. It is in the capital that the revolutionary transformation of the country was to begin. The city was intended to be a showcase for new life in Central America.

Any revolution tends to overdo it, to try and solve all the problems at one go, building castles in the air. The Nicaraguan revolution is no exception. How, for instance, can you put an end to poverty overnight in a Central American republic which for decades has depended for its very existence on business links with its mighty northern neighbour? Especially in a situation where this neighbour plays the angry boss and contemplates dealing with the independent republic in earnest? The United States' policy towards Nicaragua today is common knowledge: it manifests itself in armed aggression by the contras, trade and financial embargos, and attempts at political isolation. These facts provide the Sandinists with weighty propaganda arguments, of course. Nevertheless, Washington's aggressive policy cannot on its own explain the persistent social inequality in the Nicaraguan capital, the obvious errors in running the municipal economy, and the current economic crisis, which has recently become aggravated. Contrary to expectations, Managua is still, alas, an embodiment of the difficulties the Nicaraguan revolution is now experiencing.

A Managuan's home is his castle

This applies fully to present-day Managua. A typical Managuan home is a virtual fortress. I know this from my own experience. When looking for a place in which to set up my office, I turned for help to an accommodation agency, which first offered me a choice of the "safest" apartments – those next door to guarded government buildings or the homes of prominent public figures.

Always plenty of food at the market stalls.

Districts like Las Colinas, Bolonia and some others are valued especially highly in this respect. Rents are 1,000 dollars a month there, which is pretty high by local standards. One is advised to select a house with a stone wall and a belt of barbed-wire around it, and rented complete with a watchdog. Such strict precautions are truly indispensable. Armed burglaries, let alone petty larceny, are rampant in the city. The newspapers Barricada and Nuevo Diario report them daily. These offences are committed, as a rule, by out-of-work youngsters in their teens and twenties. They haven't spared the New Times office either.

The present authorities are taking resolute action against crime. Nevertheless, it will obviously persist for as long as the economic situation remains critical.

Adela Mendez, 30, a mother of three, is divorced from her husband. She has no profession, and can barely read. As a registration clerk at a clothes and shoe repair shop, she didn't earn much of a living, and her children seldom had enough to eat. Later she was lucky enough to be offered a maid's job by a foreigner. Adela lives in a one-room clapboard house in the proletarian district of Ciudad Sandino. Getting from home to work takes her 1.5-2 hours every morning. Buses are always overcrowded and, besides, often miss her stop. This is an example of abject poverty.

And here is an example of relative well-being. Adela's neighbour works as a civil engineer at a privately-owned enterprise, earning up to 1,000 cordobas (about 25 dollars) a week. He owns a TV set and a refrigerator, but his wife keeps complaining of the constantly rising prices of chickens and eggs, which put traditional national dishes beyond the family's means. Adela nods in assent each time she hears these complaints: yes, it's certainly hard to make ends meet.

Managuans buy their food at self-service stores and street markets. On the whole, the capital's state-run food stores are fairly well stocked with the staples – meat, fish, bread, beans, rice, vegetables. Last summer, many food products and manufactured goods ceased to be rationed. True, this was accompanied by a simultaneous price rise. Therefore Managuans often go to the street markets for meat, fish, vegetables and fruit, which are cheaper there. The Nicaraguan street market is in a class by itself. Managua's Mercado Huembes, for instance, is twice or three times larger than Moscow's Central Market. "Humble" potatoes and onions are on sale there all the year round, but they cost more than

Downtown Managua – not only ruins

exotic fruit. The meat counters are never short of pork, poultry and the famous Nicaraguan beef, 80 per cent of which used to be exported to the U.S. under Somoza.

This is the domain of private traders who are careful not to price their wares out of the market. The state now favours the private sector, in which the lion's share of agricultural production is concentrated. Deputy Minister A. Porres referred to it as "the most economical and profitable" sector of the economy, which ought to be given much attention.

Has the Nicaraguan changed?

Recently, the newspaper Nuevo Diario reprinted a 20-year-old article under this title by Professor Naser Lopez. Dwelling on the Nicaraguans' national character, the psychologist said they were gregarious extroverts who wear their hearts on their sleeves. While on the whole agreeing with the Professor, I'd like to note that many residents of Managua today prefer the seclusion of their "castles" to socializing. This is especially true of the well-to-do. Wealthy Managuans stay in most evenings, watching TV (mostly American movies). The richest of them can afford special aerials that pick up space television programmes. Incidentally, most of the movies playing in Managua's cinemas are also of American origin. Private clubs for the weekend set, such as the Casa de Espagna, offer tennis courts, baseball fields and swimming pools. Membership dues run to hundreds of dollars. It is certainly an achievement of the revolution that today ordinary Nicaraguans also have recreation facilities of their own.

Among the traits of his people's national character, Professor Lopez singles out volatility.

"In Nicaragua you have a project for everything," he writes. "We have more than our share of initiatives, which die a natural death as enthusiasm for them peters out. We embark on a scheme with our sleeves rolled up, only to abandon it as soon as we come up against serious obstacles, which cause us to lose heart."

Personally, I must say, for the sake of objectivity, that the Nicaraguans' benevolence, frankness, sentimentality even, cannot but move one deeply. "Do not chop a fallen tree for firewood," a local saying goes. You'll never catch a Nicaraguan kicking an enemy when he is down. A Nicaraguan, no matter how excited and angry, cools down when he sees that his enemy has been put out of action and needs help. He can forgive and forget any crime – theft, a violent attack – except an outrage committed against a woman. Incidentally, extremely few cases of rape and other sex crimes are reported in the local press. The Managua daily La Semana Comica, notorious for its nude photos and scabrous humour, often incurs the authorities' disfavour. In such cases, public opinion is usually on the censor's side.

Professor Lopez notes on the Nicaraguan national character are probably meant to explain the contrasts currently to be seen in the capital of the Republic. Its outward appearance, for instance, obviously bears the stamp of the Managuans' impunctuality. Why don't they give their streets names, and their houses numbers, and prevent people from being late for business and other appointments this way? To my mind, rickety improvised dwellings put together from plywood, plastic and corrugated iron are the bitter fruit of contempt for things material. At the same time, the Nicaraguans' sentimentality and kind-heartedness are seen in the cosy, well-cared-for homes to be found in the Altamira and Los Robles districts of the city.

Yuri Kudimov,

our own correspondent

MANAGUA

Photos by V. Vyatkin and TASS

Time to repair the

An ecological revolution is needed if life on earth is to be preserved. It will win if all of us – scientists and ministers, heads of government and ordinary citizens – take part in it.

Photo by Vladimir Petrov

amage

Ecological issues were recently discussed at a N.T.-sponsored round table with the participation of **Alexander Bykhovsky,** doctor of medicine; **Eduard Girusov,** doctor of philosophy; **Yuri Kozlov,** an associate of the Academy of Sciences; **Mikhail Lemeshev,** doctor of economics; **Nikolai Reimers,** doctor of biology; **Grigory Khozin,** doctor of history; and **Benzion Fleishman,** doctor of technology.

N.T. The word "ecology," known only to specialists some twenty years ago, is today familiar to almost every schoolboy and schoolgirl.

Bykhovsky. That is not entirely true. Ecology was the subject of a book, "An Introduction to Geohygiene," published back in the 1950s. It was edited by the late Professor Nikolai Lazarev, a prominent specialist in toxicology and hygiene. It should be said with regret that Gigiena i Sanitaria, the main journal of hygienic science, frowned on the idea of geohygiene. As a result, my colleagues did not accept the term, though it soon became international. So before the appearance of famous pioneers of ecology abroad, Soviet scientists had pointed out that ecology is an international problem.

Reimers. After a special body called the Commission of Seven had been set up at the State Committee for Science and Technology in 1969, all issues relating to ecology were entered on the list of banned subjects, and this stopped us talking and writing about them. The latest debates on ecology can therefore be regarded as a new spiral of interest in the issues concerned.

It would also be appropriate to recall here the Soviet scientist David Armand, who published a thorough study of the subject in 1964. But this work did not become widely known either. As has happened more than once in the past, we lost the lead and were compelled to learn from our foreign colleagues.

Who is responsible for environment protection?

Lemeshev. The most tragic thing is that the critical ecological situation in many regions of our country and perhaps in the country as a whole, is worsening, not improving, though many good decisions have been adopted and considerable sums allocated for nature conservation measures.

All the decisions without exception – on measures to improve environment protection and the use of natural resources, the first of its kind, adopted in 1972, on additional measures to improve environment protection and the use of natural resources (1978), and on observance of legislation in the field of environment protection and the rational use of natural resources, adopted in 1985 – have been implemented only partially. In my opinion, this should be attributed first of all to the deformity of social needs in our country.

N.T. What do you mean?

Lemeshev. As you know, the proclaimed aim of socialist production is the satisfaction of growing public needs. In fact, social production is developing contrary to this aim, chiefly because various departments have been made responsible for natural resources. One ministry is in charge of forests, and another has control of mineral resources. The land effectively belongs to the State Agro-Industrial Committee, water resources to the Ministry of Water Economics, and so on.

Moreover, there are about a hundred departments that exploit natural resources free of charge and seek to maximize the output of their main products, rather than meet the needs of the people. We have outstripped other countries in the output of raw materials-consuming industries. But since new, resource-saving and non-polluting technologies have not been devised in our country, the large volume of output in these industries is leading to increasingly negative results.

N.T. Can this complex of problems be resolved?

Lemeshev. I think the problem can be dealt with in two ways.

First of all, the ministries in charge of various industries must be deprived of the right to control the natural resources in their respective fields. How are we to do that? The most radical means is, in my opinion, the abolition of these ministries. I consider it absurd that each branch of our economy be directed by a large department.

In all industrial capitalist states, for instance, there are mainly functional ministries – the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Public Health, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Justice, and so on. The Soviet Union has about ten ministries in the field of machine building alone. But what role can such ministries play if contractual relations are to be developed between producers, and if they are to operate on self-financing principles?

The main obstacle here, I think, is the bureaucratic apparatus concentrated in these ministries. Contractual relations and self-financing principles will be impossible to introduce without the abolition of the bureaucratic apparatus. As matters now stand, the larger an enterprise and the bigger its output, the more incentives it has. Even the salaries of its manager and chief specialists are higher than at other enterprises. The implementation of the plan is also stimulated.

The plan is drawn up by the ministry on the basis of what has been achieved. The ministry does not care to what extent personal and public needs are met. It is interested mainly in the fulfilment of the output plan, in the manufacture of its products. That is why I believe the bureaucratic planning system must be abolished.

Secondly, the consumer should pay for the use of natural resources, with payment to be dependent on the economic evaluation of the resources and the expenditure needed to recover them. It is not enough to bring the land to its original condition. The state must also be paid for the resources it will need to restore the land, its fertility, for instance. In the event of soil erosion, salinization, or swamping, payment must also be secured for restoration work.

The May 1982 Plenum of the Party's Central Committee, which adopted the Food Programme, pointed to the need to introduce payment for resources. But the implementation of this decision was

Facts and figures made public at the 19th National Party Conference

- **Some 64 million tons of noxious substances are annually discharged into the atmosphere by our industry. An even greater amount is discharged by cars.**
- **In 102 Soviet cities with a total population of 50 million, the concentration of noxious substances often exceeds the threshold level ten or more times over. In 63 cities, the ecological situation is considered especially grave.**
- **The concentration of phenol in the Caspian Sea exceeds the threshold level ninefold, and in the Baltic Sea, fourfold.**
- **A hundred years ago the black soil in the central regions of Russia and in the Ukraine contained 10 to 14 per cent of humus, compared with 3 to 4 per cent today.**

postponed. It is expected to be introduced only in early 1991. I think this should be done without delay. In Kirghizia, for instance, the use of water in agriculture dropped by a third immediately after payment for it had been introduced.

N.T. Is there any guarantee that paying for the use of resources will improve the situation?

Lemeshev. Of course not. Payment will be effective only if cost-accounting and self-financing principles are really applied. If so-called budget financing is preserved and the ministries are holding onto it tightly, a substantial effect is unlikely to be achieved. The law on the state enterprise says that "the profit made by an enterprise as a result of operation on a self-supporting basis is to be used by it independently and not to be taken away from it."

A supplement to this provision says, however, that such a profit can be taken away in exceptional cases and on orders from a superior body. The ministry is just such a body, and it takes advantage of this prerogative. The provision in question must be revised. Only a progressive tax should be levied on an enterprise. Under this system the amount deducted by the state budget increases proportionately with its net profit.

Billions of rubles down the drain

N.T. Suppose a decision is taken to introduce payment for the use of resources.

Lemeshev. I think payment is necessary, but it should be divided into at least two parts. One part will go to the state budget in order to tackle far-reaching nature conservation projects, such as devising new machines and technologies and building fundamentally new, non-polluting plants. At least half the payment should go to local government bodies, the real managers of the natural resources on their territory. Why are polluting enterprises still being built and processes damaging to nature still being introduced everywhere in our country, and why do local Soviets sanction this construction?

The point is that when a ministry offers a project worth, say, 10 million rubles, of which 4 million can be used for the construction of a road, hospital or school, the local Soviet often decides in favour of that as the more urgent on the face of it, rather than nature conservation.

Thus, it is necessary first of all to effect a reform of the present system of ministries, fully apply self-financing principles and then introduce payment for the use of natural resources.

N.T. Speaking of payment for the use of natural resources, land can also be added to them, can't it?

> Nature, like a woman, cannot give more than it has

Lemeshev. The situation in our agriculture could change radically if we begin to lease the land. The wasteful use of land resources will come to an end, and it will not be necessary to cultivate 230 million hectares of arable land, as is now the case. I am sure that if an agricultural association or team running on a self-supporting basis is offered a lease on land for 10 to 15 years, it will not take exhausted land. This means that we shall be able to allow the exhausted land to lie fallow to restore its fertility, as is the practice in practically all industrial countries.

Reimers. To be sure, the state must be the real owner of natural resources. If the state does not lease out natural resources to users, and if the latter are not made legally responsible for them, there can be no talk of thrifty exploitation. It should be remembered that nature cannot give man more than it has, and we must know where the limit lies so as not to go beyond it. Apart from the fact that we know practically nothing about nature's potential, whatever knowledge we have is ignored.

For instance, it was known that one day the Aral Sea would be in a critical condition. But no one wanted to recognize that a limited area should be irrigated by the inflowing waters, and a limited amount of them used. The inventory of the water resources undertaken by Vladimir Vernadsky in the 1910s-20s came to a halt, and a sharp turn was made towards the concept according to which man "should not wait for bounty from nature." Moreover, we have no desire to make a deep study of ecological problems, and however much we talk about it, the situation is not changing. For instance, the Ministry of Water Economics has thrown billions of rubles down the drain.

Lemeshev. It has squandered 20 billion rubles in the last two years alone.

Reimers. And no one has been brought to account. A billion rubles were invested in the Kara-Bogaz-Gol, in fact to no avail, and no one was made answerable for it. When there is talk about ecological education, I am tempted to ask: Who wants it? Let me say that the Academy of Sciences does not at all want us to have ecological education.

N.T. What do representatives of the Academy of Sciences say?

Lemeshev. They want to study problems relating solely to ecology and the biosphere, and have no desire to work out a long-term programme for a rational use of natural resources.

Reimers. It will be recalled that a powerful scientific and industrial infrastructure was set up for the launching of the first satellite. But no one cares about the fact that a whole region is dying in Central Asia, that a Sahel is forming on its territory, and that there are already ecological refugees.

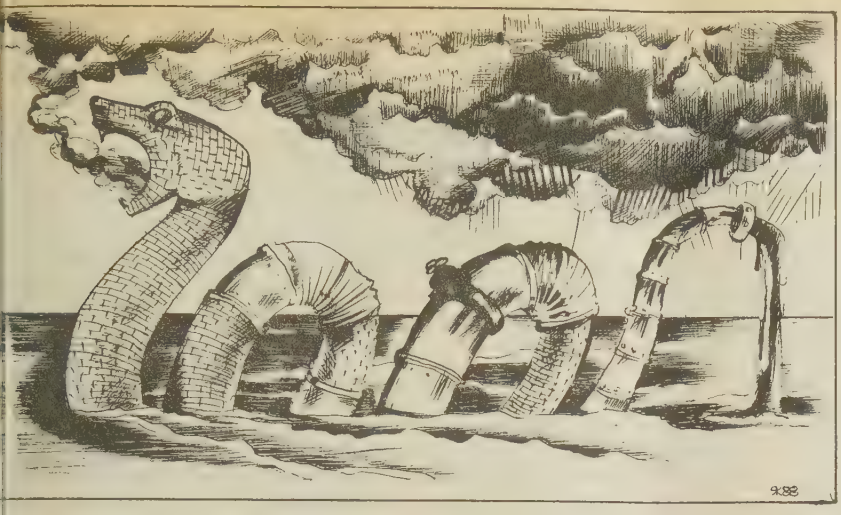
Rumours that an ecological commission will some day be instituted remain a mere talk. There are practically no ecologists among the newly elected members of the Academy of Sciences. The study of ecological problems is primarily a duty of scientists and research institutes. As for regional ecological projects, the initiative usually comes from abroad. An association called Ecology and Peace has been formed at the Soviet Peace Committee. One would think it would immediately have established contacts with ecological organizations in other countries, but it has not done so.

We should rid ourselves of mistrust and prejudice in matters of ecology, because it has no frontiers. Then we could achieve far greater mutual understanding and unity in the discussion and tackling of ecological problems by public organizations and movements.

Ecologists are needed

Fleishman. The criticism levelled at the Academy of Sciences seems well founded. It is not a matter of who is represented in the academy, or who heads the ecological programmes. Ecology is related to several branches of science, and this is reflected in the fact that various departments have to deal with ecological problems. Our academy in its present form is, first of all, an institution of front-rank specialists. But since ecology involves several branches of science, and ecological problems are tackled by several departments, these specialists find it difficult and even impossible to work in this field, however great their store of knowledge in their respective fields may be.

The time has evidently come when what we need are not so much experts in a particular branch of science as experts in a particular problem. Such experts, and as many as necessary, can be made available as a result of cooperation between local Soviets and public organizations. As soon as Soviets become richer and more efficient, they will be able to



Drawing by Konstantin Yarikov

ace orders with public organizations, hich can carry out an examination or ward a diploma either free of charge or r payment. Such diplomas must be offi- ally recognized.

A congress of the All-Union Scientific d Technical Societies was held early is year. It seems that steps were taken make them independent of ministries d departments. Nothing good can be pected if the scientific and technical cieties remain appendages to minis- es and departments. If they become in- ependent organizations, they will be le to help train ecologists. What other ganizations can do that?

I think ecologists can also be trained at eople's universities. The Society of adio Engineering and Electronics, of hich I am a member, and which does t seem to have a vested interest in na- re conservation, effectively supports ur ecological movement. We are train- g ecologists to a high level, indepen- ently of the Academy of Sciences and ithout inviting academicians. We have ur own candidates and doctors of sci- nce, and use curricula in engineering cology to train such specialists at the rresponding department of Moscow eople's University, though it is not con- dered a very prestigious institution of arning.

Kozlov. I think that everyone, espe- ally leaders, decision-makers, should now the aim of development, what rogress means. If we know exactly why e want to preserve nature and are able evaluate in rubles the work needed for is purpose, if we assess in concrete fi- ures the various ways of developing our stem, then we shall be able to achieve ur aim. It is necessary to calculate xactly how much will have to be spent on a given project to be carried out by an industry or several industries, on a regional or nationwide scale. It is also necessary to calculate the economic returns it will bring. We shall deal here with price, profitability, and profit, and the need to achieve the maximum possible effect with the lowest possible expenditure. It should naturally be remembered that any expenditure of financial, material and manpower resources leads in the end to a diminution in or lack of these resources in another place, another group of industries which have not received them.

Illusory freedom

Girusov. I would like to elaborate on an idea that today we need ecology of a social rather than a biological orientation, and the two are united by the fact that mankind has reached a level where its survival is at stake. To be or not to be depends primarily on man, on whether he will change his behavior. Man is doomed if he continues to ignore the basic law of life on earth. That is the use of energy from outer space, from the sun. Thanks to this energy, the living being opposes the growing entropy. As long as the influx of energy from outer space continues and a mechanism for utilizing it exists, man can resist this process.

As a heterotrophic being, man has naturally chosen a heterotrophic path, namely, the consumption of organic matter. He began to produce energy by burning fuels. As long as this activity was carried on on a relatively modest scale, it did not cause serious damage to the biosphere. Now that the power industry has expanded considerably and is making rapid progress, with the amount of energy consumption doubling every 10-12 years, this growth cannot but influence the biosphere.

It should be remembered that the biosphere is also a thermostat. Life on earth can exist within rigid limits of temperature, humidity and pressure. Man must submit to this law. I would like to point out that the only possible alternative lies in using energy from outer space. The Russian poet Tyutchev once aptly noted that man realizes his discord with nature only in his illusory freedom.

This illusory freedom seems to be coming to an end. We must now have not illusory but ecologically-grounded freedom. The reserve granted by nature – and mankind has developed largely by borrowing from it – has effectively been depleted. Man's activity in the use of minerals must now be changed radically, with the emphasis to be laid on technologies with little or no waste.

Yuri Kozlov once said that there are no renewable resources. I would disagree with him by saying that the only renewable source of energy is solar energy.

Kozlov. Unfortunately, this source is not renewable, nor is it eternal.

Girusov. But as long as the sun gives out warmth, this source exists. True, I am not inclined either to regard the sun as an inexhaustible source. I have in mind here not only the time of its extinction (several billion years from now) but also the fact that the amount of solar energy reaching the earth depends on the clarity of the atmosphere and, consequently, on man's behavior, first of all in the economic sphere.

The use of renewable energy sources is another principle essential for the preservation of life. I have in mind solar energy, with the numerous ways of utilizing it. In my opinion, this is the only correct solution to the energy problem.

I would like to mention one other law of life. As distinct from man, all other living things use the available information rationally, in a comprehensive and integral

Wanted: a reform of the ministries; payment for the use of natural resources

way. Thanks to this, a high degree of organization has existed and has even been increasing in the **biosphere** for a long time, along with the precision of the rhythms that underlie all life processes. It is, in fact, a perpetuum mobile that will operate for as long as energy comes from outer space.

The development of a science capable of ensuring genuine progress for the human race can proceed only as an integrated process. Nature is an integral system. We can understand and properly apply the laws of the preservation of the biosphere only by conducting comprehensive research. Comprehensive approaches and programmes are needed for the training of specialists. Both are entirely absent today. For instance, an ecological programme is now being worked out. But, in my view, the Academy of Sciences is not paying enough attention to it.

Who can work as an ecologist?

Reimers. Speaking of science, I must say that we need a new approach to it, to ecology in particular. Some think good results can be achieved if bad institutes are lumped together in one place. I am sure that nothing will come of this.

Khozin. The situation is far more complicated. It is a hopeless affair to staff an ecological research centre with people motivated by an anti-ecological psychology. Will they be able to shape a correct ecological policy? I would suggest that the records of people likely to take part in the elaboration of a scientific nature conservation policy should be examined from an ecological point of view. It is not at all ridiculous. The public has a right to know who will shape this policy. There is a danger that the upper echelon of the newly formed State Committee for Environment Protection and the ecological research centre will be made up of those who held a consumerist attitude to nature, and we know to what results such attitude has led.

N.T. Where is the way out?

Reimers. It is necessary to build a new structure, with a small number of leaders and a large number of young people, because only the young are today capable of devising and implementing a new and simultaneously correct concept of nature conservation policy. Young people are free of stereotyped thinking and dogmas, while leaders would ensure the necessary coordination. This combination will enable us to get things off the ground.

Fleishman. Perhaps we need a public, not a government, organization responsible for nature conservation.

Reimers. I am all out for such an organization, but where are we to get the money? The funds are controlled by departments.

N.T. It might be expedient to think of organizing an ecological cooperative or an ecological joint-stock company.

> If we worked in a ministry we would also destroy forests and stun fish with explosives

Fleishman. Today this is quite a realistic proposition.

N.T. What is the connection between ecology and health? Can the self-regenerative ability of the environment be regarded as a factor in the struggle for mankind's survival, a factor that man has not yet recognized and does not use in full measure?

Bykhovsky. Before answering these questions, a few words should be said about the biosphere itself. It can be stated that the biosphere has evolved principles for ensuring its security. As has already been mentioned, the technosphere created by man in the course of his progress is a threat to the biosphere and is lethally dangerous to man. This was clearly demonstrated by the Chernobyl tragedy. That is why we should also be thinking today about how to ensure the security of the technosphere, because it encroaches on the biosphere and counteracts man. We should clearly give serious thought to this problem.

We medical workers are talking a lot about ecology and its effect on health. According to research findings, about 20 per cent of man's health depends on the environment. Our food is contaminated as a result of the extensive use of chemicals, that is, of the serious defects in the technosphere that we ourselves have created. For this reason it is very important for the younger generation to know that the technosphere we have created is not fully compatible with the requirements necessary for mankind's survival.

Reimers. The question of a narrow departmental approach, of opposing sectional interests arises here again. Take land improvement, which is still doing more harm than good, or treating the fields and crops with chemicals in total disregard of the laws of nature. In fact, an ecological revolution is needed.

Girusov. We must, indeed, realize today how acute the question of ecological security is.

Bykhovsky. It is characteristic that from the standpoint of morality ordinary, less educated people have a far better understanding of the gravity of the ecological security issues we are discussing here. They understand that we are moving in a wrong direction. Ecological clubs and societies are being set up spontaneously throughout the country. In Moscow alone a dozen ecological groups have been formed, as far as I know. I fully agree that this public activity merits close attention.

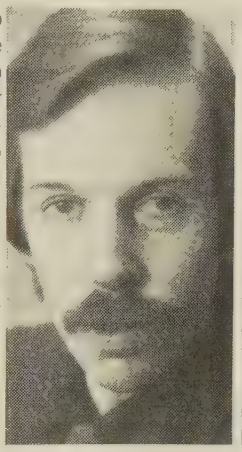
Moreover, we have a public organization dealing with ecological issues. It is the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. At least, it has departments responsible for ecological matters. In my opinion, the task of the newly formed State Committee for Environment Protection is not to close the gaps created by other ministries and departments but to lead and coordinate nature conservation work in the country, and, in particular, to unite the public movement we have spoken of.

N.T. Nature conservation activity has been picking up speed recently, albeit slowly. Under the influence of the Chernobyl accident, the construction of a third unit has been stopped at the Ignalina atomic power plant in Lithuania. A meeting of the Party's Central Committee held in late August has noted that the Shchekino chemical integrated works (situated some 200 km south of Moscow) are being turned over to the manufacture of products not hazardous to the environment. But despite these changes and tendencies, a great deal of strenuous work lies ahead. We are heavily indebted to Mother Nature.

The round table was conducted by V. Berlovich and V. Zhitomirsky

Open doors?

Lev Yelin



After the Soviet authorities simplified exit procedures in January 1987 and lifted many restrictions, one local official announced, I was told, that as the people "at the top" were making things easier, "we down below" should make things tougher. He believed with all his heart, and still thinks to this day that the people "at the top," when making things easier, were counting on the apparatus designed to implement the decision efficiently to offset it. Readers have cited many instances of loopholes that still remain open due unfortunately to the inadequate democratic openness of such procedures.

Fortunately, it's becoming increasingly difficult to tighten the screws. I know, for instance, that time and again recently the U.S.S.R. visa and registration department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, better known by the acronym OVIR, has been reprimanding its overvigilant local representatives, and also that the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium citizenship commission, which verifies the legality of decisions, concerned in particular with the desire to leave the country to live permanently abroad, often satisfy the complaintants. Indeed, in 1987 the number of Soviet citizens who left totalled 40,000, or 5.3 times more than in 1986. The number of refusals now accounts for only two per cent of applications.

Yet, truth to tell, we still have a long way to go to the unreserved complete exercise of every person's right to leave any country, including his own, and come back, a right enshrined in the 40-year-old Universal Declaration of Human Rights. An analysis of readers' letters indicates the following specific motives for turning down an application to leave.

Firstly, knowledge of something that can be construed as an official secret. Similar restrictions are imposed in West Germany, France and the Netherlands, while in the U.S. refusal to issue a foreign passport or to cancel it may be dictated by the "interests of national security or foreign policy." Indeed, no country would like to see people in possession of confidential information go abroad, even less so to live there. Of course, each specific case must be considered by an impartial independent body, and not by the head of some office or other blocking a subordinate's desire to leave on the "God-knows-what-might-happen" principle. It stands to reason that the stamp "highly confidential" which, until recently, was to be seen only too often on papers and files of greatly varying value, could not but take root in minds as well.

An application to leave the country to live abroad is considered only if the appropriate invitation from the applicant's relatives is tendered. It was once impressed upon me that such an invitation served as a kind of guarantee, vouchsafing acceptable conditions for the applicant. I personally would find it nicer were an invitation not mandatory, but simply desirable. I think we must have an absolutely clear concept of how such considerations relate to the observance of a person's rights.

The U.S.A.: free exit or limited entry?

It has come about – and one could discuss the motivation for this ad nauseam – that in this country the wish to go abroad is to some extent frowned upon, and a person desirous of exercising the right to do so is regarded with even more opprobrium. Still, there have undoubtedly been changes.

The U.S. is also taking a different view of the immigration issue. Let me elaborate.

Testifying before the Senate Committee on Law, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz set out the "President's considerations" in taking in refugees in the 1989 fiscal year. Immigrants from the Soviet Union have also been classified as refugees: note that anyone not so classified would have extremely doubtful chances of ever acquiring U.S. citizenship.

This is both speculative and unlawful, for although international law furnishes an inadequate definition of the term "refugee," it is people who are harassed or stand in danger of harassment who generally are regarded as refugees. How can one classify as "refugees" Soviet citizens who for one reason or other decide to leave, and are officially allowed to do so? Why are people classified as "refugees" when leaving to be reunited with their families on the basis of invitations that the U.S. Department of State itself has certified? There is clear political injury here to both the country and its people. How can a universally recognized process be regarded as "flight"?!

George Shultz also noted the Soviet changes in emigration procedure and "welcomed" them. However, the U.S.'s own approach is changing in entirely different direction. Previously Washington loudly encouraged all "who chose freedom." Now it has taken on a plaintive note for, Shultz deplores, America's ability to take in immigrants is restricted by both financial and juridical considerations.

Today, after decades of energetically rooting for an open-door policy, entrance quotas are being limited, and various "restrictive" formulas touted.

The metamorphoses in the U.S. attitude to immigration are eloquent indeed. It would appear that the U.S. authorities are concerned not so much with human destinies, as with the chance to make propaganda. Previously, the restrictions and bans operative in the Soviet Union did offer them such a chance, and they made full use of it. But now, with the number of restrictions lifted, the pontification about "free exit" (from the U.S.S.R.) is attended, as we have heard George Shultz remark, by talk as to the legality of "limited entrance" (into the U.S.A.) and comments to the effect that an emigrant cannot be allowed "into any country of his choice."

The concept of human rights would seem to take the propaganda biscuit. The day when respect for that concept outweighs all other considerations has clearly yet to arrive.

Will a RAF look like a Chrysler?

Lee Iacocca, chairman of the board of directors of a major world motor corporation, sent his personal plane for the director of a small Soviet plant.

Victor Bossert, head of the RAF plant, arrived in the United States as a member of a Soviet civic delegation. When he telephoned the office of Chrysler, one of the world's biggest automobile concerns, he received an invitation to visit Detroit, where the headquarters of the company are located. Three weeks earlier, the RAF Director had himself received M. Hammes and R. Stuart, Chrysler's vice-presidents. They had come to Latvia to take a closer look at RAF with a view to making a decision as to whether it would be advisable for the American automobile giant to enter into a relationship with a small Soviet motor plant. Both in Detroit and during their second visit the Americans paid to the RAF headquarters, they continued to discuss prospects for cooperation. I interviewed Victor Bossert immediately on his return from Detroit.

How are Chrysler and RAF getting along?

Companies like Chrysler badly need new markets, now that competition between Western manufacturers has become particularly acute. In considering prospects for the automobile industry, Chrysler seems also to have included the Soviet market in its calculations. The Ministry of the Automobile Industry proposed that Chrysler have a look at some enterprises in the Soviet Union, among them such big plants as VAZ and ZIL, as well as smaller ones like ourselves (a mere half of one per cent of the total automobile production in the U.S.S.R.). The Chrysler delegation split up to visit different Soviet enterprises. But it turned out that the two vice-presidents, the leading figures in the delegation, had chosen RAF. Their interest, I realized, was not fortuitous, as Chrysler has always been concerned about the level of skill and qualifications of personnel, the level that would ensure the best product quality. We have a slight edge over our competitors in this area. Moreover, the Chrysler people know that our works is operating as part of an experiment and that I myself, as director, was not appointed, but elected by the work collective.

I appreciated too that Chrysler has no intention of investing capital in a large works like VAZ or ZIL, has no intention yet of risking its money. This situation is, incidentally, not confined to this particular case. Whoever we talked to, either in the U.S. Congress, for that matter, or elsewhere, every one wanted to know whether the process of perestroika would go ahead without coming to a standstill somewhere along the line. Is the risk of investing money in the Soviet economy higher than that of investing it in the economy, say, of China? Good at calculating money, the capitalists have probably figured that since our plant is small they are not running a great risk if they invest something like about one per cent of Chrysler's annual income, which amounts to 16 billion dollars. The American partners will not go broke even if the joint venture falls through, while in the event of success it will be possible for them to put capital into bigger enterprises.

During the Chrysler delegation's latest visit we considered questions relating to compatibility in the design of prospective minibus models to be made by our two companies, and technologies for the production of presses and welding, painting and assembly equipment as well as certain financial problems.

What did you see while visiting Detroit?

I was greatly impressed by the jeep manufacturing plant, which turns out 200,000 automobiles annually. It employs 32 thousand workers and engineers, and its workshops for coating, painting and precoating operations look fantastic! Before we entered the shops, just as for a visit to the eye microsurgery lab at Academician Fyodorov's clinic, we put on white caps and white starched overalls. Everything looked spick and span, with the robots covered in white cloth to keep dust off the wiring. But when I asked them to show the press production shop I was told it was "a long way off and it would take a long time to drive there." Later I learned that the workshop was started in 1974 and by their standards is already obsolete. Aware that we at RAF are now interested in press production technology, our hosts would not show us the shop, fearing that it could influence me against doing business with them. The more so as I made no secret of the fact that I had visited the Ford plants. They tried to find out who had invited me there and who had arranged the visit to the Ford people. That's competition! Today we should not eschew this word either.

What earlier views were confirmed on visiting your prospective partner?

It became especially clear to me that if we continue to rely on today's technology we shall fall even further behind others and never catch up with them. If we intend to obtain new technology and new products within the shortest possible period, say in five years' time, we will have to set our sights on international standards. Sixty per cent of our technology measure up to world standards or will by 1991. But what about the remainder? We know how to bridge the gap but we need hard currency to do so. Using the current RAF model, we can make special reanimation vehicles. The Health Ministry took our RAFs and gave them to a Finnish firm for reequipment and that cost them a lot of money. We suggested setting up a joint venture that would provide for a thousand or two thousand automobiles instead of a hundred. As a result we concluded a contract. Now the Finns are designing the project and will subsequently be building it here, with the aim of putting out small batches of reani-

nation vehicles, traffic police, and crime-etection labs on wheels, vehicles for the tate bank and so on. Making small atches of special-purpose vehicles ould prove a good source of hard cur-ency today. The new project will be com-issioned in two years' time and we will e earning currency selling our products n the world market. It is with this money at we could pay Chrysler back for the chnology it provides.

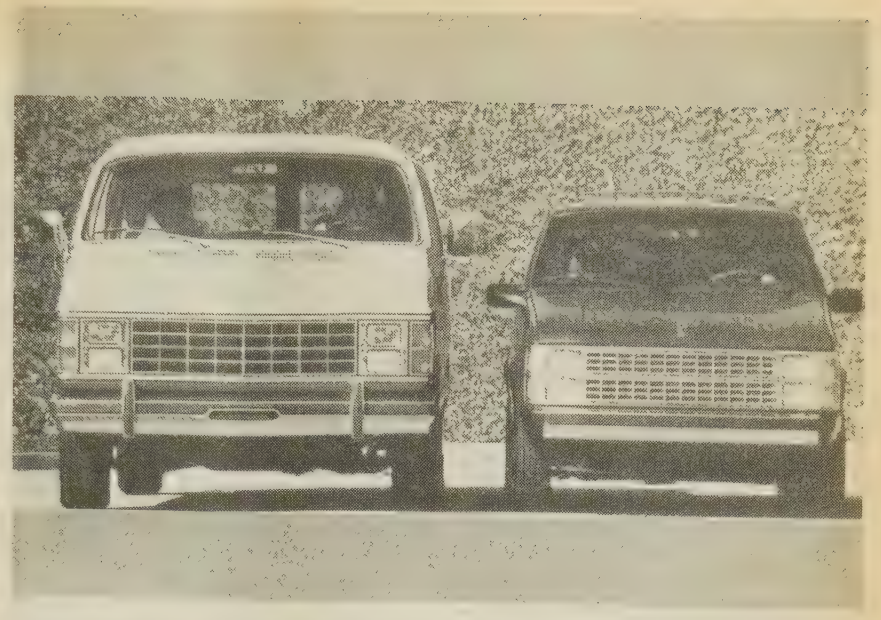
These are our three bedrock principles: arning currency through making vehi-es in small batches, setting up a brain entre in Riga fitted out with modern mputers, and drastic technological re-nstruction in the main production sites. e figured that if our cooperation with hrysler turns out well, we can ensure aximum within 3-4 years, that is, if we ve completed the reconstruction by 92-93, all the investment will have en paid off by the end of the next five-ar period. That means that as from 95 our plant could become a national oving ground for earning hard cur-ncy. The market is the most important ng here...

You will then be more and more in-grated into the international market, n't you? You could also chalk up w experience and strike up new nnections, couldn't you?

Quite true. We do not yet claim that we all be selling vehicles to the United ates in exchange for technology. No, e should look for other markets – in uth America, Africa, the Middle East. e have set up a marketing department our plant, and we are now actively oking into problems related to advertis-g, entering the market and price forma-n. We think we are entitled to demand oan from the state. We badly need this nd of financial injection. We'll repay it iortly with a vengeance.

The tackling of such large-scale is-es probably calls for the restructur-g of staff's attitudes to work, doesn't

During the stagnation period we ig-red the market, the worker was alien-ed from the end product and his wages led to ensure the satisfaction of his eds. Today, however, we give oppor-nities for all who want it to earn money, day we do not call those who make 800 bles or so go-getters and upstarts. We e grateful to these people because they the work of four. That means we can minate three jobs, thus reducing by ree the number of people in the queue r plant housing, and it also makes for a duction in the amount of hostel accom-dation. In short, we seek to do more with fewer hands. Abolish clocking-in! If Petrov is five minutes late, is he to be punished? And what if he came late for good reason and will probably do more during working hours than Sidorov, who arrived in time? We must now stop concentrating on the number of hours the worker was present and begin to pay attention to the product of his work and also stop paying for time but for the product. We have now started doing so, breaking some rules that are still valid. But the results here leap to the eye, as last year, for example, labour productivity at our plant rose by a massive 27 per cent, instead of 5.6 per cent as planned. That is, we have fulfilled a five-year programme in this sphere in one year, and that after years and years of failures. Why? Because the personnel are now aware that the more they work the more they get. If in 1986 the best worker at our plant earned a mere 30 per cent more than the worst-performing one, now the gap has increased four-fold. I share the view of Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, who states that the policy of socialism in the sphere of wages is pay according to the work done rather than levelling out. The true spirit of our socialism is competition rather than egalitarianism.



Two Chrysler products – a minibus and a station wagon compact – which have a special appeal to the RAF people.

You are the first factory director in the Soviet Union to have been elected by the collective. What have you learned from this experience?

For a long time we were afraid to provide the workers with "superfluous" information, fearing that they would raise too many questions with the director. Today, however, I am aware that I bear responsibility for them and they for me. We have greatly raised the level of mutual responsibility. The working class should be informed to be able to take an active stand. Today people still sometimes can't make up their minds to join the debate, fearing that their arguments will be found wanting, and we must teach them to take an interest in the affairs of the state, and not just in local issues concerning the team or production section.

The right of decision-making must be taken away from the bureaucrats, from those who are not responsible for the consequences of their decisions. Ministries with a small number of personnel should play only a strategic, consultative function in our economy, while all other functions should be handed over to specialists sufficiently deployed at factory level. We practitioners are geared to end results, and we shall be fully responsible if we fail to resolve our own problems.

The technologies of hamburgers production should not be the concern of government bodies. Let leaseholders and members of cooperatives take care of them. Here I mean more than just foodstuffs. For six months we at our plant have not had any problems arising from the shortage of plastic, as we are provided with it by Lithuanian cooperatives. Reverting 60 years later to the New Economic Policy, it is high time we switched from criticism to real work, using and creating new possibilities such as market relationships, and working for the convertibility of the ruble. It is high time we started training managers who, besides engineering, would be proficient in economics, sociology, psychology and law. Instead we go on churning out mechanical engineers who do not know

how to make and count money, because that is regarded as "the capitalist mode of thinking." It is high time we adopted the American and Japanese experience, adapting it to our conditions. I believe that our society is capable of realizing its advantages.

In what do you see the advantages of the socialist system?

First, in the guarantee for the future. I was asked after my trip to the West what the difference is between our workers and theirs. My answer was, they have to be concerned about tomorrow. True, unemployment benefit is bigger than our worker's wages today. But a person cannot go without work. Some now say that we shall not be able to avoid unemployment as our economy develops more and more. I do not agree. Who said that the working day will always last eight hours? Why can't it be shorter? Great attention should be paid to the social infrastructure at each enterprise. We at RAF have earmarked substantial funds for the building of houses, holiday centres, pioneer camps, schools, medical facilities, and organized a laboratory to study the sociology and psychology of labour. Here are our advantages.

We have a subsidiary agricultural farm that provides our workers with meat, vegetables and fruit. We have signed contracts with Moldavia, the Northern Caucasus and Tashkent for extra supplies in exchange for our products. The workers see that the firm is taking care of them. Now, for the first time in the republic, we are starting to issue and sell stocks.

In actual fact, the cooperation with Chrysler and others is expected to help the Soviet economy. Why do you think the West is responding?

Sober-minded people reason that if we produce something together, and maintain trade with each other, that considerably reduces the likelihood of a conflict or war. The West, I have been told more than once, needs an economically strong Soviet Union since such a partner is good for doing business with.

One further point. Chrysler sees that Western Europen is closer to us as the U.S.S.R. has such traditional partners as West Germany, Finland and other countries. When we have established joint ventures with them it will be difficult for Chrysler to secure a foothold here. In my opinion, though they are still looking around, the Americans were prompted by business acumen, to open up the Soviet market.

Armand Hammer's experience has proved not vain. He risked it in the 1920s, and has always maintained billion-dollar contracts with our country ever since. Lee Iacocca radically changed the situation at Chrysler and went ahead. I believe he will stick to that style in dealing with us.

I also asked Ronald Stuart, Chrysler's Vice-President, to reflect on their contacts with RAF.

The Riga plant, to my mind, needs great improvements, he said, but we have talked with the new, I emphasize, the new management and have been pleasantly surprised by the changes in progress there. What I have in mind is not technology and equipment but the philosophy of their activity, the programme aimed at the future. The plant still has much work to do to reach the necessary standards, but it is developing in the right direction. The attitude to major problems here is correct and I would similarly describe as correct the assessment of the problems facing the plant.

I emphasize these merits on the part of RAF because we saw very different examples here. Moskvich spent substantial sums on acquiring the most advanced technologies but the workers' skill, however, never rose to the level of this technology. That's why the technology is not being applied to the full and is still not how it should and might have been. What is the use of spending large sums o money on equipment just because i looks good?

We are continuing to study the ques tion of a joint venture in Latvia. The new contacts have shown a mutual interes and confirmed the fact that there are im portant prerequisites for the success o our common project.

Edgar Cheporov

NEW YORK, U.S.A

When this story was ready to go to press, we contacted Elgava where the RAF is located. RAF's director Victor Bossert had this to say: "We have just seen off the Chrysler delegation. We have decided to set up two independen groups of designers and technologists who will study likely aspects of cooperation and come up with a formula for it. By November we shall have prepared a Protocol on Intentions, the first step towards concluding a contract on jointly refitting our plan and manufacturing minibuses to world standards."

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THE JUNIOR WORLD

Stop preaching at me!

One night I chanced to see a television terview with a Russian woman living in aris – a translator , if I remember rightly who was in Moscow on a visit. I turned n the set when the interview was about lfway through, apparently she had al-ady said whatever nice things she was pposed to say, and I caught the inter-ewer asking what she didn't like about oscow. She said that in Moscow, as stinct from Paris, everyone moralizes.

Indeed, many foreigners say that our mmon passion for moralizing strikes em as odd.

I agree with them. Who likes to be eached at from every quarter?

in a shop queue, the salesgirl ignores old man's questions about prices and en flies off the handle: "Can't you see e price tags?" Somebody tells her she ght to be more polite. "He'll use his es next time," she retorts. A salesgirl esn't just sell things, you see. She also aches her customers how to behave.

factory shop superintendent I know s reprimanded for failing to educate men properly (somebody had stolen mething from the shop). It is commonly garded as the duty of a superior to exp-n to his subordinates (all of them adults course) that stealing is wrong.

And look how we educate each other at me! As I walk up the stairs to my flat at ght, I hear wives educating their hus-nds, or vice versa, or both of them ucating their son, at the tops of their ices. Almost all of us think that to edu-te means to find faults with each other, reprimand and scold him (or her), as if ere were no other ways of explaining e difference between right and wrong. cidentally, a talking-to is the least effec-e means of persuasion. It is not for no-ng that one usually begins reprimand-g a child with the phrase: " How many nes do I have to tell you..." or "I've told u a thousand times that..." Why can't understand, at long last, that if a ethod has failed a thousand times, it's good?

The strangest – or even, I'd say, most rrible – thing is that pointing out to ners what one doesn't like in their be-vior is regarded as all but a public duty h us. We are generous with reproofs, if eager to make angels out of eryone else. An unintentional push in a wded bus can bring upon you a re-ark, loud enough for all to hear, that h boors like you around we'll never ild communism. It turns out that your lt-finding fellow traveller is not only a bloody nuisance, but a builder of communism as well. Everyone regards himself as a model of perfect behavior, to the exclusion of all the others.

Another TV report that gave me food for thought was one about a 15-year-old girl and her two friends on trial for a premeditated and brutal murder. The girl's father was a drunkard and, when drunk, created ugly scenes. Even such a despicable character, however, made a point of "teaching his daughter morals" by beating her up every time she came home after 9 p.m. He regarded that as his paternal duty.

Most of us seem to believe that we are entitled to teach others. This is wrong. Trying to educate others by means of homilies and reprimands doesn't do anyone any credit, simply because it's bad taste at its worst. In one of his autobiographical novels, Gorky described a shopkeeping family who picked everyone they knew to pieces from morning till night, so that it seemed that even if Jesus Christ himself had called on them, they would have started preaching at him.

One of the human passions is the one that brings forth children, and another is moralizing on the right way for the said children to behave. The former is strictly regulated by laws and morals, and as for the latter, we indulge in it without restraint. Moralizing serves not to edify others (as we flatter ourselves) but to gratify our egos. I have reprimanded you – consequently, I'm better than you. If I reprimand everyone, I'm the best.

Let us take a closer look at our system of child raising (the one actually practised, not that described in books). From very early in life a child is treated as an erring, stupid, incompetent and slovenly creature, but father and mother know everything, can do everything, are always right and so have the absolute right to teach and correct it. A child's world is one of errors and corrections, defendants and judges, a court in permanent session. A child goes to school, where they tell him to follow his classmates' answers and correct their mistakes. After he joins the Pioneers he is supposed to criticize, at team meetings, those of his classmates who make poor academic progress or disobey the teachers. "What are you mumbling there, come on, stand up and say outloud that Sidorov's behavior does not benefit a Young Pioneer!" a teacher demands.

How can it be otherwise, you may ask. In what other way can children be brought up? Well, you would be well advised to put these questions to our best teachers, who never reprimand in class and never complain to parents about their children.

From time immemorial, child rearing has always rested on two whales: one, the word; and the other, good example. Any attempts to do with words and dispense with examples bring lamentable results. Never tell a child that he doesn't hold his fork properly; hold it properly yourself. Never tell anyone that to steal is wrong; don't steal yourself. And another thing: one should inculcate in oneself, and in one's children, at least some semblance of tolerance of the behavior, pronouncements and views of others. We've been calling on one another to be intolerant for years – and there are, indeed, things not to be tolerated – so let us now stand up for tolerance as well. Much of what a boy of five does upsets his parents, it is true, to the point of vexation. But if you reprimand him once, you'll have to do so a second time, then a third, and so on:.. And, now, tell me, does a reprimand differ much from a slap in the face? The target of a reprimand instinctively seeks to defend himself, and often becomes aggressive – for the first time, perhaps, but for by no means the last.

So let us be tolerant of each other, especially of juniors. By a million pinpricks, deserved or otherwise, we cause malice in people, and life becomes unbearable. Ellochka the Cannibal in the famous satirical novel by Ilf and Petrov may have been quite justified in demanding: "Stop preaching at me!"

Simon Soloveichik

From conflict to compromise

Wladyslaw BAKA,
member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, replies to questions from a New Times correspondent.

The Polish government stepped down the other day. The Sejm accepted the resignation. Could you comment on these events?

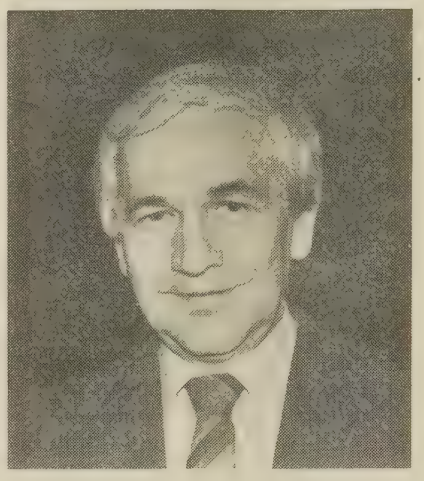
Willingly. As you know, a profound economic reform is being put through in our country. Its aims and objectives were defined by the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. However, it turned out that putting the reform through was much harder than had been expected. Its implementation dragged on. We also came up against considerable difficulties in the transition to the second stage of the reform which, according to the plans, should have ensured the effective functioning of the economy, adequate market supply and social justice in distribution according to labour.

The key to the second stage – the reform of prices and incomes – failed to resolve the problems. No correlation was achieved between prices, incomes and labour productivity. Inflation increased. The delay in implementing the reform, the gap between what was said and what was done, rising prices, the absence of quality goods on the market – all that provoked discontent among the working people. Two waves of strikes swept the country this year.

The eighth plenum of the CC PUWP in September carried out a comprehensive analysis of the socio-political and socio-economic situation and pointed to the insufficiently effective implementation of the reform.

At the same time the plenum underlined that the objective limits to implementing the economic changes in the country did not offer much room for manoeuvre.

To begin with, we have an immense debt to repay: more than 2,000 million dollars are needed annually for the payment of the interest alone. If we were able to divert at least half that sum to improving supplies, we could effectively completely eliminate market disbalances and consumer goods shortages.



Secondly, for the past few years Poland has been an object of Western discrimination. To this day in the relations between us and the leading capitalist countries there are credit and financial barriers and all sorts of other difficulties, such as, for instance, the fact that we are obliged to pay for all our imports in cash.

Finally, our own inert, ineffective economic structure and its high energy and fuel consumption per unit of output create difficulties. Conservatism also plays a substantial role. To change all that within the space of a year, or even five years, is hard. Time is needed. It is easy to announce a reform, but that doesn't mean people will immediately start working differently.

And so the limits within which changes are possible are restricted, and that should not be forgotten. But we have the right to ask: were the government's efforts within these limits truly effective? Were the most acute problems in our economy resolved? In answering these questions the CC PUWP came to the conclusion that there had been many violations and mistakes in the government's work. At the same time, the Central Committee did not take any decision as to whether it should continue to carry on its work. It merely brought its assessments to the notice of the members of the emergency commission of the Sejm that had been set up to analyze the effectiveness of the reform. The commission carefully weighed all aspects and factors, and came to the conclusion that profound changes were needed in the composition of the government.

The commission reported its findings to the Sejm. In the Sejm, the government was also criticized by deputies representing the trade unions. They declared that the unions demand the resignation of the ministers. In his report to the Sejm the Prime Minister acknowledged that the government had made serious mistakes and that a task as difficult as implementing the reform required more consistent and decisive action. He agreed with the doubts expressed by the working people that the government in its present composition could cope with the task, and offered the resignation of the entire government, leaving its fate in the hands of the Sejm.

In Poland's history this is unprecedented. First, because as a rule such issues have been decided in the quiet of offices. Secondly, the public was informed only after decisions had been taken. This time all was done openly, publicly. And thirdly, when members of an old government resigned, their office telephones were as a rule immediately disconnected, they were requested to vacate the premises quickly, and even "good friends" no longer offered their hands in greeting when they met...

Today the resignation is seen as a normal event.

I would say that the events we have witnessed are a striking example of perestroika in political relations and the consciousness of the working people.

It was noted at the eighth plenum of the CC PUWP that despite certain failures, the economic reform would be continued. Could you give an idea of the lines along which this will happen?

I could answer that question in the following way: none of the participants in the eighth plenum doubted the correctness of the reform, its main principles and directions adopted by the Ninth Congress of the Party. That is the only way we shall be able to find a solution to our socio-economic problems and lead Poland towards progress. I should like to note that the main principles of the Polish reform towards

socialist renovation are similar to the main principles of the Soviet economic reform, as well as the reforms in Hungary and certain other socialist countries. The rich experience of those countries shows that we are on the right course, forming new relations between Party and government, decentralizing, strengthening the position of enterprises, enhancing the role of commodity-monetary relations and concentrating our energy on resolving strategic problems. By increasing the responsibility of the people for the adoption and implementation of decisions, we are at the same time giving them greater rights. All these elements in the Polish perestroika are strategic and long-term.

Today we are faced with two problems that are far from simple: how to impart the necessary pace to the implementation of the reform and what our concrete decisions should be. The lessons we have been taught show how important it is when taking decisions to proceed from concrete conditions. Events can't be pressured. It doesn't make sense to give monopoly enterprises the opportunity to set prices without any control when the economy is not in equilibrium. For in that case prices will only increase. It is essential to set up a mechanism that would link it comes with real productivity, I understand, real effective productivity. Both the profits of enterprises and the wages of the workers must depend on this real productivity. That is the first conclusion.

The second is that we must consistently create conditions in the country for the development of the market. Without the right conditions the market mechanism promotes not progress, but a distortion of progress and works not for the people, but against them. I think that is one of the most crucial issues in the successful implementation of our reform.

And, finally, the third practical conclusion: the eighth plenum of the CC PUWP recommended drafting in the shortest pace of time a plan for the consolidation of the national economy, which would provide for the unification of all means and public forces in the country, as well as of the energy and expertise of specific people. The implementation of such a plan is called upon quickly to satisfy public needs, get out of the impasse in solving the housing problem and ensure saving of energy and fuel. Without that we won't be able to cope, for the Polish economy is at present consuming too much energy and costing too much. Within the framework of the consolidation plan, we are determining the main guidelines – technical progress and international cooperation. In this context the close connection between our strategy and the strategy of structural changes in the Soviet Union is of immense significance. Actually, this present visit of mine to the Soviet Union, as was the case, incidentally, with most of the previous ones, is connected with this approach to our common cause.

From the purely economic point of view, the orientation of our consolidation plan is a policy designed to strengthen the role of money in the national economy, so that the Polish zloty should become real money and in future be exchanged in any quantities both for rubles and the currency of other countries. That is of great significance both inside the country and in international cooperation.

I hope that the consolidation plan will allow us to cut the ground from under the causes of inflation and, in the final count, control the process. It will also set fresh young forces in motion in resolving the problem of increasing labour productivity and changing the economic structure.

Could you say something about the political conditions for the realization of the economic plans you mentioned for Poland's restructuring?

This question of conditions is very important for us. The close ties between the economy and politics, about which Lenin wrote and spoke so convincingly, is not simply a theory, it is practice. And these ties become particularly perceptible and important at major turning points in the history of countries, when it becomes particularly clear that economic decisions should be firmly rooted in the political sphere, and the other way around.

The reform we are putting through in Poland is founded on the principles of the independence of enterprises, self-financing and self-management. It all calls for decentralization, grassroots education, provision of the groundwork for new political process, and a clever settlement of conflicts between individual and group interests. Otherwise the entire reform begins to limp.

That's why we took another critical look at our political system and came to the conclusion that a lot in it needs changing. And we are changing things. We are considering setting up a second house in the Sejm, greatly increasing the role of workers' self-management and setting up bodies with consultative functions and able to take decisions, such as the commission on prices and incomes, where both representatives of the government and the public would work side by side. We want to enhance greatly the role of the people's councils in the system of regional decentralization, as well as the role of all representative bodies.

All that would create a socio-political infrastructure which would give a fuller expression to the interests of the people and make social and economic matters a common responsibility. That is most important now that the reform is being put through and changes are having to be made as, for instance, in the sphere of incomes. The reform will obviously not prove to everyone's liking because it will operate on the "you get as much as you give" principle. This principle will require adjusting both incomes and various types of privilege. There are sure to be groups that will oppose this, claiming that their interests correspond completely with those of society. They will use high-sounding phrases to prove that the existing system and it alone is a socialist one, and any changes would lead us away from socialism. The new political mechanisms will in this case reveal the causes of the contradictions that exist in society and how compromises can be reached.

Matters of principle can no longer be decided by a narrow circle. They have to be solved in full view of the public. That is what has prompted the restructuring of the functions of the party and improvements in the methods of its work. As the leading force in society, its place is at the head of the process of change. It must be the first to determine where contradictions arise, identify them and indicate ways of resolving them. What allows the party to fulfil this leading role and obliges it to do this is the fact that between the party and the working class there are no differences.

A short while ago I was at the shipyards in Gdynia. There we discussed this with the workers. I asked them: "What are your interests? What do you want?" They replied in detail. Then I explained in equal detail the aims of the PUWP. And I asked them: "Do you see any difference between what you want and what the party is seeking?" No, they replied. Then what's the problem? It seems that what had been lacking was frank discussion and mutual understanding. And we can achieve mutual understanding all the faster, the faster a more developed political system is created.

Today the masses themselves participate in the shaping of policy, no one tries to impose anyting on them. That is our present style of political work.

What is the attitude of Poland's ruling circles to the opposition?

Our society is a pluralist society. There exist different trends, opinions, views, including on the development of Poland and its future. We cannot shut our eyes to that. For the most part, Polish society is a Catholic society, which has its own scale of ideological values, and from this point of view it is very differentiated.

Poland must be and is a Poland for all Poles. Irrespective of a person's ideological orientation. We believe that every Pole seeks the prosperity of his country. Those who seek to in crease its political weight and solve the country's problems must have the opportunity to express their views. That is why we are pushing to the forefront the question of agreement with all those Poles who are sincerely concerned for the interests of their country. In order to meet the representatives of the different forces, including the opposition, those who criticize us and even those who tried to destroy us, we proposed a round-table meeting. The purpose is to get replies to such questions as: what are your intentions? What are our intentions? What separates us and what unites us? How can the existing differences be reduced and the things that unite us strengthened? We want not only to discuss these questions, but we invite all to take joint action and accept general responsibility and adopt joint decisions.

Interviewer: VLADIMIR GALIN

A close-up of the country

The G.D.R. National Exhibition in Moscow gives visitors a chance to "visit" two hundred integrated mills and factories of that country in a matter of hours.

The name of the Saxon mechanic Carl Zeiss, who in 1846 opened an optical workshop in Jena, has long been synonymous with quality and reliability. Today the 25 factories that make up the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena are regarded as one of the European centres of the precision optical industry.

Professor Ernst Abbe of Jena University, a contemporary and associate of Zeiss, described the instruments then being made in Jena as extremely precise and sensitive, and predicted that they would retain their significance for all time. One can only guess how Professor Abbe would have described the present day Zeiss output. At the exhibition in Moscow, it was called a "challenge to the times."

To judge the standard of modern production at the Zeiss factories it is sufficient to take a look at one of the laboratories modelled at the exhibition.

Zeiss microscopes with a magnifying power of 800 make it possible to examine integrated circuits with a memory capacity of 1 MBITS. It took experts from the Dresden scientific research centre Mikroelektronik, which is part of the Carl Zeiss company, just two years to develop the technology of the integrated circuits. And the first sample was made a couple of weeks ago by the VEB Kombinat Robotron. It is hard to believe that this silicon chip, only one square cm in size, can remember nine pages of our magazine.

... Imagine that the integrated circuits, installed in computers begin working in, say, a machine tool plant. Having taken a few steps along the aisle of the exhibition pavilion, one finds oneself surrounded by robots – flexible manufacturing systems noiselessly manipulating components. The G.D.R. experts claim that such systems reduce production cycle to a half, require 30 to 70 per cent less attending personnel, cut feedstock consumption and spoilage down by 10-20 per cent, and double (or even quadruple) work efficiency. That is probably what the factory of the future looks like.

The German Democratic Republic holds third place in the world in the export of machine tools. The Soviet Union is one of its main customers. There are almost 100 thousand machine tools with the G.D.R. trade mark in Soviet factories.

Also very interesting are the machines on display for the production of consumer goods and various energy saving devices so greatly needed today, as well as waste processing technologies. I don't know whether future contracts will include the installations for pasteurising milk that are on show, or those for processing meat, or the looms. But I do know that when the exhibition closes many of the exhibits will be turned over to Soviet factories.

The exhibition, however, is not a fair, although a number of contracts and deals have been signed. Nor is it a traditional advertising show of the achievements of a fraternal country. The Moscow exhibition is an invitation to cooperation at a world level, an invitation to a search for new areas of common interest stretching into the future. Do these interests extend to the setting up of joint ventures? That was the question I put to the G.D.R. Minister of Foreign Trade, Dr Gerhard Beil.

In this respect, the Minister replied, relations between the G.D.R. and the U.S.S.R. are probably an exception. The main form of cooperation in our economic relations are agreements on scientific and technical cooperation, on establishing direct links between enterprises and amalgamations. More than 140 have been concluded in the past 2-3 years.

Two years of experience in organizing joint ventures with fraternal countries have revealed that in practice everything is much more complicated than it originally seemed. From conversations with G.D.R. specialists who had come to Moscow for the exhibition one concluded that such cooperation is being considered. However, it is not only being considered, but various estimates are being made. To what extent will such ventures prove profitable? How can the different systems of planning, marketing, organization and payment of labour be dovetailed? How should mutual accounts be settled? For if a joint venture is to work successfully, it is not enough to wish that it should without the corresponding infrastructure. For a quarter of a century a joint textile company operated by the G.D.R. and Poland has been working in the Polish town of Zawiercie. There is also a joint venture with Czechoslovakia. But conditions in the Soviet Union differ in many respects from conditions in those countries. In other words, the changeover to new and more advanced forms of cooperation is to be preceded by thorough preparatory work.

Of special importance are the quests for new methods and levers of integration, the accelerated promotion of specialized and joint production which is of mutual benefit. These problems dominated the recent talks between Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of Council of State, and Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Incidentally, both leaders paid a visit to the exhibition.

The exhibition offers considerable food for thought. It not only provides a picture of the achievements of a fraternal country. It also makes one stop and think: when at last will we begin to learn from our friends, not from newspaper articles, but from real life, and get down to actively studying their experience? Studying their enthusiasm, ability to economize and rationality? Their desire and ability not to lag behind industrial developments worldwide? And their ability to weigh all the pros and cons before taking decisions?

Konstantin Isakov

Vyshinsky and his die-hard diplomacy

Victor Israelyan

Turning to page 540 of the 9th volume of the Large Soviet Encyclopaedia, second edition, the reader finds himself caught by the piercing, hypnotic stare, through a pair of horn-rimmed spectacles, of a man of intellectual appearance wearing the uniform of an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union. The photograph is accompanied by a brief biography concluding this passage: "He relentlessly exposes the predatory policy of the reactionary ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Britain, and in the name of the U.S.S.R. and all of progressive humanity demands the banning of the criminal propaganda of war conducted with impunity in the countries of the imperialist aggressors against the U.S.S.R. and the countries of people's democracy." This is said of Andrei Vyshinsky.

Of the man whose name is inseparable from the blood-stained pages of our history of the 1930s, of the chief public prosecutor at practically all the big political trials of that time, the trials that shattered the lives of thousands upon thousands of human beings. The above passage, however, relates not to his career in the sphere of "jurisprudence" but in an altogether different field – in the international arena. For about 15 years Vyshinsky served in our country's foreign policy department first as Deputy Minister and in 1949-53 as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I joined the staff of the Foreign Ministry in the first post-war years, when Vyshinsky was at the zenith of his diplomatic career. Few of us newcomers to the diplomatic service had occasion to work directly with him. But we talked about him a great deal. His speeches at various conferences and meetings, his sarcastic remarks and comments, and the dressings down he administered regularly to subordinates guilty or not guilty of misdemeanors, were the subject of lively discussion. He was feared by nearly everyone. To get into his bad books, especially when he was in an ill humour, was nothing short of disaster.

At the same time his "relentless exposures" of external enemies, his public speeches crammed with historical allusions and analogies, often indeed, highly dubious, his juggling with aphorisms, proverbs, Latin phrases, and, finally, the crushing labels he attached to his political opponents – all this evoked the approval and even the delight of some admirers of his talent. To be fair, it must be admitted that he did possess this "gift" as well.

Vyshinsky's role in foreign affairs commanded attention in the post-war period, particularly in the years when he headed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It must be borne in mind, of course, that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, as incidentally, that of most countries, is shaped not by the Foreign Office but by the top leadership of the country. I therefore do not overrate Vyshinsky's importance in working out foreign policy concepts and in determining the key positions of the U.S.S.R., all the more so since, unlike some of his predecessors and successors in the post of Foreign Minister, he was never a member of the Political Bureau. As for the methods of giving effect to one or another foreign policy action, in other words, the diplomatic style, Vyshinsky's hand was immediately discernible. It is precisely on this style that I wish to dwell here.

But first, a few words about the international situation at the time. The victory over fascism had raised the prestige of the Soviet Union to unprecedented heights. The anti-imperialist, democratic processes at work in all parts of the world determined the political face of our planet. This state of affairs did not suit the leaders of the capitalist world. They wanted to present the Soviet Union to the Western public as the enemy, to sow fear of our country. Every device in the arsenal of imperialist policy was used to this end. The setbacks and problems of our country were gloated over. The ugly manifestations of the personality cult, the new wave of purges, the drive against "cosmopolitanism," against "kow-towing to everything foreign," and the like, were simply a godsend for the organizers of the campaign against the U.S.S.R. and the idea of socialism. In a word, this was the painfully difficult cold war period.

In the circumstances the improvement of the international climate, the development of peaceful relations between states, the scaling down of confrontation between them and the prevention of an arms race were issues of particular urgency for the Soviet Union. However, for a long time we believed that irreconcilable struggle between the two hostile camps – the socialist and the capitalist – would be basic to the further development of international relations. The very concept of "two camps" which was introduced in the political lexicon by us was in large measure projected at confrontation, rivalry. Viewing the world through the prism of this simplified pattern, we complicated our relations with some countries. The 20th Congress of the CPSU, as we know, to some extent altered our vision of the world.

Vyshinsky's style, his passion for "exposures" only intensified the conflicting, confrontation elements in world diplomacy. He was an odious figure primarily because of his past record as public prosecutor. The point is that as distinct from most people in the Soviet Union, in Washington and London, Paris and Tokyo it was well known at the time of the political trials of the 1930s that Bukharin and Rykov, Zinovyev and Kamenev and the other defendants had never "spied for the West," and that the indictments against them had been frame-ups concocted by the organizers of the trials, including Prosecutor Vyshinsky.

This laid a definite imprint on the attitude to Vyshinsky on the part of foreign leaders when he exchanged his prosecutor's uniform for the ambassadorial. "Whenever I looked into those pale eyes / Vyshinsky's. – **V.I.**/," Charles E. Bohlen, U.S. ambassador in the Soviet Union, writes in his memoirs, "I saw the horrible spectacle of the prosecutor browbeating the defendants of the Bukharin trial." Indelibly imprinted on the memory of another American, the diplomat and historian George Kennan who also worked for many years in Moscow, for a time as U.S. Ambassador, were the political trials of the 1930s when in the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions he heard Vyshinsky "sounding the cry of suspicious, secretive Russia against the fan-

cied hostility of the outside world."

U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Vyshinsky's American opposite number with whom he had talks on more than one occasion, also had an anything but high opinion of him. "As a public prosecutor during Stalin's bloody purges of the Party, officialdom and army in the 1930s," Acheson writes, "he had hounded former friends and colleagues to breakdown and death." Acheson considered Vyshinsky "a natural blackguard, but cultivated and amusing."

Vyshinsky was not trusted, no one cared to have with him the unofficial, friendly contacts so important in diplomacy. When, during the Moscow Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain in 1943 Vyshinsky in conversation with Charles Bohlen drew a radiant picture of Soviet-Anglo-American cooperation after the war, the American was not impressed. "...Knowing Vyshinsky's past," Bohlen wrote in his diary, "I thought his words did not ring true."

Vyshinsky liked "public" diplomacy, he had a weakness for addressing international conferences. At the 4th U.N. General Assembly he delivered 20 speeches, at the 5th – 26, at the 6th – 22. The speeches, as a rule, were lengthy, some of them lasting 2-2.5 hours, and sometimes more.

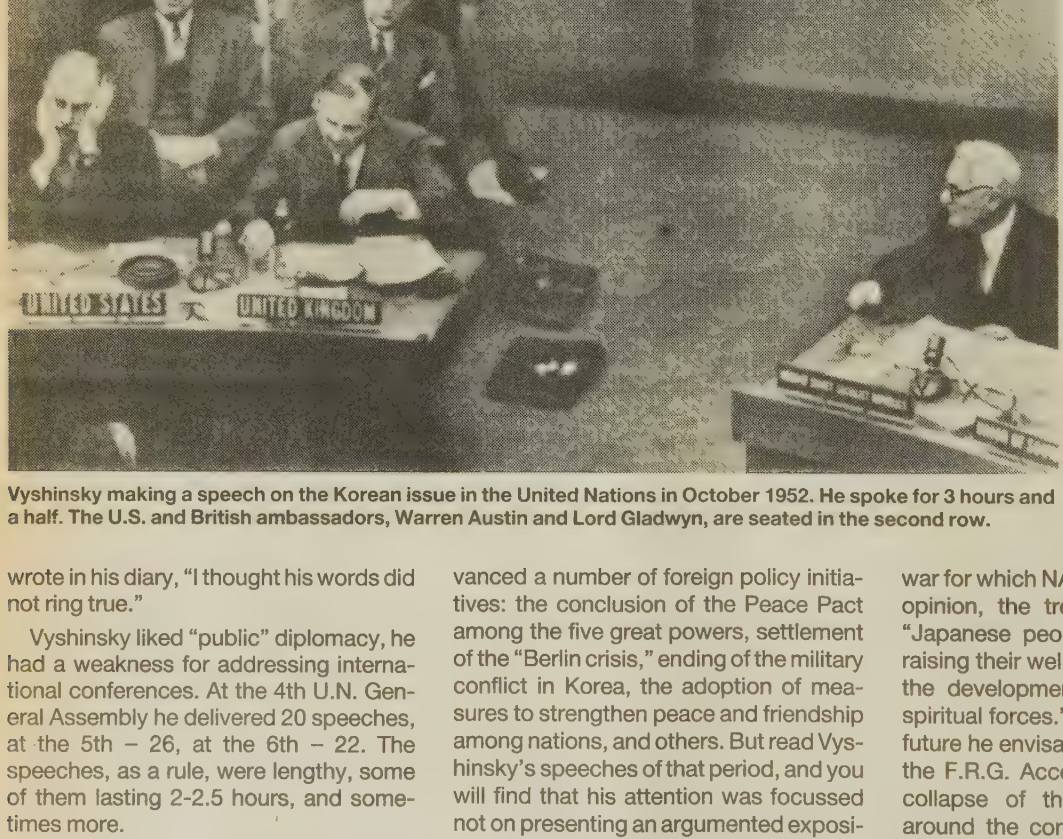
This predilection of Vyshinsky's would not necessarily be numbered among his weaknesses were it not for the character of his orations. He branded, pilloried, humiliated, ridiculed. The polemics he indulged in were confrontational in character. He was essentially less concerned with finding mutually acceptable compromises then with condemning his opponent.

In general, the former public prosecutor behaved at international conferences not as one might be expected to behave at a gathering of representatives of sovereign states, but as if he were in the courtroom. And he treated his foreign colleagues accordingly. "Younger, Austin /the representatives of Britain and the U.S. in the United Nations. – **V.I.**/ and all others who have ears..." was how Vyshinsky addressed his audiences. Some he described as fit for the lunatic asylum.

Lord Gladwyn, who for many years represented Britain in the United Nations, once recalled: "The horrible Vyshinsky... deployed /in the U.N. – **V.I.**/ all his great forensic talents, so successful in the past in getting his best friends condemned to death at bogus 'trials' in the Soviet Union."

During Vyshinsky's term of office as Foreign Minister, the Soviet Union advanced a number of foreign policy initiatives: the conclusion of the Peace Pact among the five great powers, settlement of the "Berlin crisis," ending of the military conflict in Korea, the adoption of measures to strengthen peace and friendship among nations, and others. But read Vyshinsky's speeches of that period, and you will find that his attention was focussed not on presenting an argumented exposition of the advantages of our proposals, but on condemning the position of the other side. His speech in the U.N. in submitting the Peace Pact proposal concentrated on denouncing NATO, the Marshall Plan, and U.S. and British policy, with a "sideswipe" at the Guomindang delegate; and only at the very end he announced the Soviet proposal, setting forth as the main argument in favour of its support, a series of quotations from the pronouncements of "the leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union." Moreover he placed the main emphasis not on the new constructive idea of the proposal but on condemning the United States and Britain for preparing a new war. As a result, the Soviet proposal merely led to a sharp political confrontation.

Besides holding high diplomatic and legal rank, Vyshinsky was also a member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. But the academician's scientific palette consisted in the main of two colours – black and white. And these he used in his public speeches to paint a picture of the world. Everything relating to the Soviet Union was splendid, beautiful. The U.S.S.R., he said, "is growing stronger from year to year, gaining strength economically, its science, technology, art and culture are flourishing" and by 195[illegible] the well-being of the Soviet people had been raised to an "unprecedented level," etc. As for the economic situation in the West, it was invariably described as "shaken," "deteriorating," "in a pre-crisis state," and the Marshall Plan was bound to end in "collapse and failure."



Vyshinsky making a speech on the Korean issue in the United Nations in October 1952. He spoke for 3 hours and a half. The U.S. and British ambassadors, Warren Austin and Lord Gladwyn, are seated in the second row.

Poorer still was the academician's performance as a forecaster of events. For example, in connection with the conclusion of the San Francisco peace treaty with Japan, which the Soviet Union refused to sign, Vyshinsky predicted that the Japanese people were fated to become cannon fodder in the new war for which NATO was preparing. In his opinion, the treaty would deprive the "Japanese people of the possibility of raising their well-being and would hinder the development of their material and spiritual forces." No less gloomy was the future he envisaged for the population of the F.R.G. According to Vyshinsky, the collapse of the capitalist world was around the corner. However, let us be fair: such prognostications were drawn from the statements of the "leader and teacher" and his closest associates.

But let us return to Vyshinsky's activity as a diplomat, although I am convinced that he never was a real diplomat, being impatient, rude and quick-tempered by nature. Back in the 17th century, Francois

allières, author of a famous work on the rt of diplomacy, rightly observed that eople of uneven temperament, incapable of controlling their passions are more uitable for war than for negotiations. yshinsky, unfortunately, was devoid of uch qualities as the ability to listen to the inions of his opponent, tolerance, tact. ere is one example.

In 1951 the U.S.A., Britain and France ubmitted to the United Nations a joint roposal on arms limitations, in which the ain emphasis was placed on verification and control. The authors of this proposal attached great importance to it. Before submitting it, the Presidents of the .S.A. and France and the Prime Minister Great Britain issued a special statement and the Foreign Ministers of these untries formally submitted it to the U.N. the opening session of the General Assembly. No sooner had the proposal en presented than Vyshinsky gave it s appraisal: "It may be confidently asrted that the mountain has given birth a mouse, so negligible and patently se are the proposals emanating from Atlantic camp." According to the New k Times, Vyshinsky, departing from prepared text – something he was d of doing, while Moscow, with only draft of his speech to go by, often did t know what exactly he said in the Und Nations – went on to say that after aring President Truman's speech "I uld not sleep all night because I was oked by laughter, although I am not a ghing man by nature." I would not venre to dispute the latter claim.

The Western powers' proposal did unestionably suffer from a number of deiencies. But was it befitting the repsentative of a great power to dismiss s partners' proposal out of hand without listening to the opinion of the other embers of the world community? oreover, in such a manner.

The Soviet diplomat Yakov Malik, who orked for many years with Vyshinsky, ld me how, after one of the latter's inlting tirades, one of the foreign diplmats he had attacked challenged him a duel. Vyshinsky, however, did not acpt the challenge, voicing his "conmpt" for the injured party.

A tendency to indulge in denunciatory atribes bordering on downright rudeess, to "shocking language," the harm which for diplomatic intercourse was peatedly underscored by Lenin, was in e very nature of Vyshinsky. In the oice of startling but essentially meangless epithets his imagination knew no unds. True, such epithets as "mad g," "stinking offal," "accursed scoundrel," "despicable cur" and the like which he liberally used at political trials in the U.S.S.R. he did not venture to indulge in at international forums. But expressions like "rabid warmonger," "crude failsifier," "a gentleman run amok," "a madman," "semi-madman," and "foul slanderer" abounded in his speeches even there. His evaluations of the speeches delivered by the representatives of different states sometimes ran along these lines: "I would not describe the devices resorted to by the Brazilian delegate and the delegations of the entire Anglo-American bloc as juggling. All they have performed here is sleight-of-hand, sword-swallowing acts for which no skill is required..." On other occasions he declared that the head of the Australian delegation had cited facts that were nothing but "cheap gossip and lies worthy of the famous Baron Munchhausen," that the speech of the Canadian delegate "was a cascade of abuse and hysterical outcries," and that the head of the Belgian delegation had "spoken sheer nonsense."

Vyshinsky levelled abuse not only at the direct participants in negotiations but also at the countries they represented, one of which, iuncidentally we had normal relations with that country, he compared to a "jackal in search of prey." He scoffed at some small countries for their weakness. When a representative of a small country supported the stand of the U.S.S.R. Vyshinsky called for a respectful attitude to small countries, when the reverse happened, he tried to ridicule them.

Hartley Shawcross of Great Britain, speaking of Vyshinsky's style, said that when the Soviet delegation proffered the olive branch they did it in such an aggressive manner that seemed designed to kill any desire to accept it. One delegate observed that the meaning of Vyshinsky's speeches could be summed up in a German saying: "You'd better be my brother or I'll crack your skull."

Vyshinsky's use of offensive expressions evoked displeasure even in the Kremlin. He was told to modify his zeal.

Such a divergence between style and substance in politics is impermissible. Derogatory remarks, the ridiculing and villifying of political personalities even if they hold anti-Communist views, are incompatible with the building of good-neighbourly relations with the countries they represent. Abusive language has never been nor can be conducive to constructive cooperation.

Vyshinsky's courtroom rhetoric was accompanied by the registering of "wrathful protests," the "contemptuous dismissal of brazen statements" and at times, simply the slamming of doors. One action of this kind had extremely serious consequences. On January 13, 1950, the Soviet delegation, in justified protest against the China's seat in the Security Council being occupied by representatives of the Guomindang regime instead of the People's Republic of China, began a boycott of this important U.N. body. Our political opponents promptly took advantage of this move. In June and July the U.S.A. and its allies put through a number of resolutions which, among other things, accused the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of mounting an "armed attack" on South Korea and set up a "United Nations force" for the Korean war. What did that Soviet action achieve? It, regrettably, did not lead to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the P.R.C. in the U.N. (that happened more than 20 years later), nor did it ensure Soviet-Chinese friendship. In the absence of Soviet representatives, the Security Council adopted some decisions inacceptable to the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries. To avoid further possible complications, our U.N. ambassador Yakov Malik was instructed to return to the Council sessions as of August 1, 1950. I realize that our withdrawal from the Security Council sessions could not have been Vyshinsky's decision, it was Stalin's. But in his capacity as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vyshinsky ought to have foreseen the dangerous consequences of the action and prevented it.

Vyshinsky's "prosecutor diplomacy," alongisde other manifestations of the personality cult helped to create the "enemy image." Gallup polls taken in the late 1940s and the early 1950s showed that most Americans were convinced that they would soon be at war with the U.S.S.R.

During a recent visit to Denmark I had a talk with the well-known Danish champion of European security, the 92-year-old Hermod Lannung, who had worked for many years in the United Nations. I asked him whether he remembered Vyshinsky. Of course he did. "Every speech Vyshinsky delivered was an exciting show," he said. "Would you like that show to be repeated?" I asked him. "Certainly not!" Lannung said. "Vyshinsky's confrontation diplomacy has been relegated to the past never to return. Today we have every grounds to speak of a radical change in the entire style of our foreign policy activity. And this change has contributed in no small measure to the improvement of the international climate." ■

Salud, Barcelona

From our special correspondent
Vitaly Ignatenko

The Olympic Games would cease to exist were one nation to claim all the medals

That is unlikely to happen, though, and of course a single nation's hegemony in sport, or, for that matter, in anything else, could not have good results. it would merely discourage individuals and nations alike. At the end of the 24th Olympics we are glad to note that medals were won by athletes from a third of all the nations that had taken part.

The Soviet athletes held on to the lead they assumed at the outset, and their powerful performance put them at the top of the Olympic charts. Every other in our team is a prize winner, with almost every third awarded with a gold medal. Our athletes set examples of will, courage, and endurance and seemed the friendliest and most outgoing team of all that came to Seoul. That is only natural, for our athletes are committed to the spirit of internationalism, respect for their rivals and competition in good faith for sporting awards. Our team, incidentally, was made up of athletes from practically all the Soviet republics and indeed every part of the country.

The press in Seoul noted the outstanding achievements of many of our champions. It had special praise for our men's and women's gymnastic teams, who won a total of 11 gold medals, an unprecedented achievement. The all-round champions Elena Shoushounova, Vladimir Artyomov and their teammates and coaches have advanced the best traditions of gymnastics fostered in the Soviet Union. Spectators were carried away by the ease and accuracy with which they performed incredibly complicated exercises.

Our pole-vaulter, Sergei Bubka from the mining town of Donetsk, is second to none. He added an Olympic title to his many victories. He even attempted to repeat the world record, and it is not his fault that this time the record stood.

The list of the Soviet teams records goes on and on. Cyclist Erika Salumae of Estonia beat the world record holder and Olympic champion Christa Rothenburger of the G.D.R. who, incidentally, holds an Olympic title in skating, Gennadi Avdeyenko from Odessa clinched the high-jump title, and a topnotch sharpshooter Irina Shilova of Grodno opened the list of Olympic medallists. They and many other Soviet athletes represent the best in sportsmanship and sporting harmony of which the founder of the modern Olympic movement, Pierre de Coubertin, dreamed. The team from the German Democratic Republic did extremely well, winning medals on practically every day of the Olympics. The achievements of athletes from Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia have been acclaimed worldwide.

The United States team once again came third overall, but that does not take from the outstanding individual successes of its members. At this Olympics the American team did not prove stronger than the teams of the Soviet Union or the G.D.R. The Americans will no doubt work harder now and we will be well-advised to follow suit so as not to be caught napping in the future.

The records at the 24th Olympic Games are now history. The Games set a new frame of reference for athletes and coaches alike. In some fields the results will understandably grow quickly, in others, records will only be set by the coming generations.

The Olympic theme composed by Italian Giorgio Moroder reigned in Seoul throughout the Games. The composer, who holds several Oscars for film soundtracks, has written an outstanding piece of music very much in tune with the spirit of the occasion. The lyrics of the Olympic anthem in English and Korean were easily understood by the multilingual Olympic community, as they are about peace on Earth. The composer captured the mood that prevailed at the Games and the atmosphere of friendliness, respect for rivals, and mutual assistance. Those were the keynotes of the Seoul Olympics.

Drama

There is a cultural festival at every Olympics, in keeping with the ancient Olympic tradition, but at times traditional forms of entertainment seem outmoded. The highly professional entertainment shows looked like artificial flowers against the backdrop of the lush subtropical vegetation in Seoul. The irresistible charms of Brooke Shields, Julio Iglesias, and Bob Hope failed to match the appeal of Olympic events such as, for instance, the U.S.A.–U.S.S.R. basketball match, or the swimming records of Kristin Otto and the incredible run of Griffith-Joyner, Soviet-Brazilian football performance.

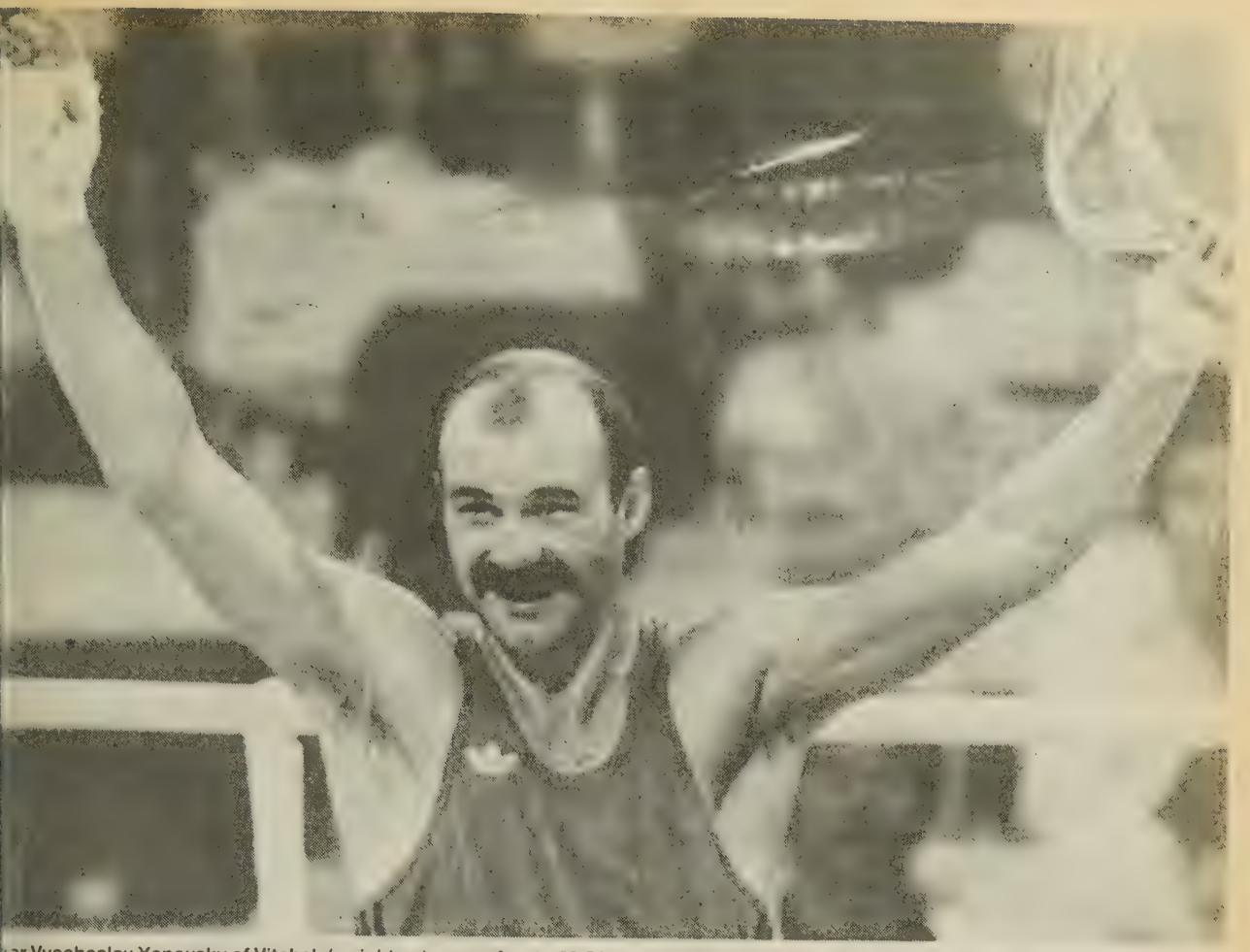
It seems quite impossible to predict the drama of today's big-time sport, a microcosm of our fast-changing life. Or a universe in itself?

Ben Johnson of Canada clocked 9.79 seconds in the one hundred metres dash to receive a gold medal from IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch. The 71,585 spectators and a TV audience of an estimated 2 billion could not believe their eyes as they enjoyed the high drama of the event. Strangers wept tears of delight and hugged each other in the stadium in Seoul.

A mere 56 hours later Ben Johnson surrendered his gold medal to IOC officials. No one was present at the ceremony except for the runner and the officials.

His sister wept bitterly in the empty four-room suit of the Hilton Hotel where the would-be champion had been staying.

As you know, Ben Johnson failed a drug test. He had used the anabolic steroid known as stanozolol to build his



ar Vyacheslav Yanovsky of Vitebsk (weight category of up to 63.5 kg) won a gold medal on the closing day of the Olympics.

e Drechsler (G.D.R.) and Florence Griffith-Joyner (U.S.A.) congratulating each other a 200-m dash. Florence was the first to breast the tape clocking up 21.34 seconds (a d record), with Heike winning a bronze.

muscles and improve his responses.

Various rumours circulated in Seoul. It was said that someone had tampered with the results of the test or that someone had put something into the soft drink Ben Johnson took after his fabulous run. No one understood why the athlete had taken so great a risk. Juan Antonio Samaranch told a news conference that the episode had done a lot of harm to the Olympic Games and the Olympic movement in general. It demonstrated beyond any doubt that the IOC was right to take a tough stand in favour of the purity of the movement.

Within two days Ben Johnson had turned into a pariah. The Canadian government disqualified him for life. The Canadian minister for youth also responsible for sports Jean Charest said that he had been warned on at least two occasions that Ben Johnson was using illicit drugs. The minister said it was not clear at this stage whether Ben Johnson had done it himself or whether someone had aided him, and promised a full inquiry. The triumph of Ben Johnson's life, he said, had turned into a great tragedy. It was a sad day for Ben Johnson and Canada.

Big-time sport pushes human ability to the limit, it is true, but it is also very often accompanied by mighty industry, science and big business. A remarkable athlete is often bound hand and foot by contracts, both overt and covert. He has to work for them, and unfortunately the Olympic motto "Citius, Altius, Fortius" is sometimes understood as a formula for material gain.

The companies that backed Ben Johnson may lose a lot of money and Ben Johnson may find himself in dire straits, but the humanistic ideals of sports have remained unblemished. The drama of big-time sport will endure.

Questions

The more you hear some questions, the less you feel inclined to answer them in detail.

Five minutes after our AEROFLOT jet landed in Seoul, we were asked how we liked the city, and later we were asked that question all the time until the moment our team boarded the long-awaited Ilyushin-62 for home.

There was a special meaning to that customary question here in Seoul where Soviet guests were concerned. Our hosts expected more than polite references to the beauty of Seoul's neat streets and the friendly feeling towards us shown at all levels. I sensed that they expected recognition, and there was a note of pride in their achievements. The South Koreans did not miss the historic chance the Olympic Games had given them to demonstrate their diligence and openness to the world. I think they have succeeded in that.

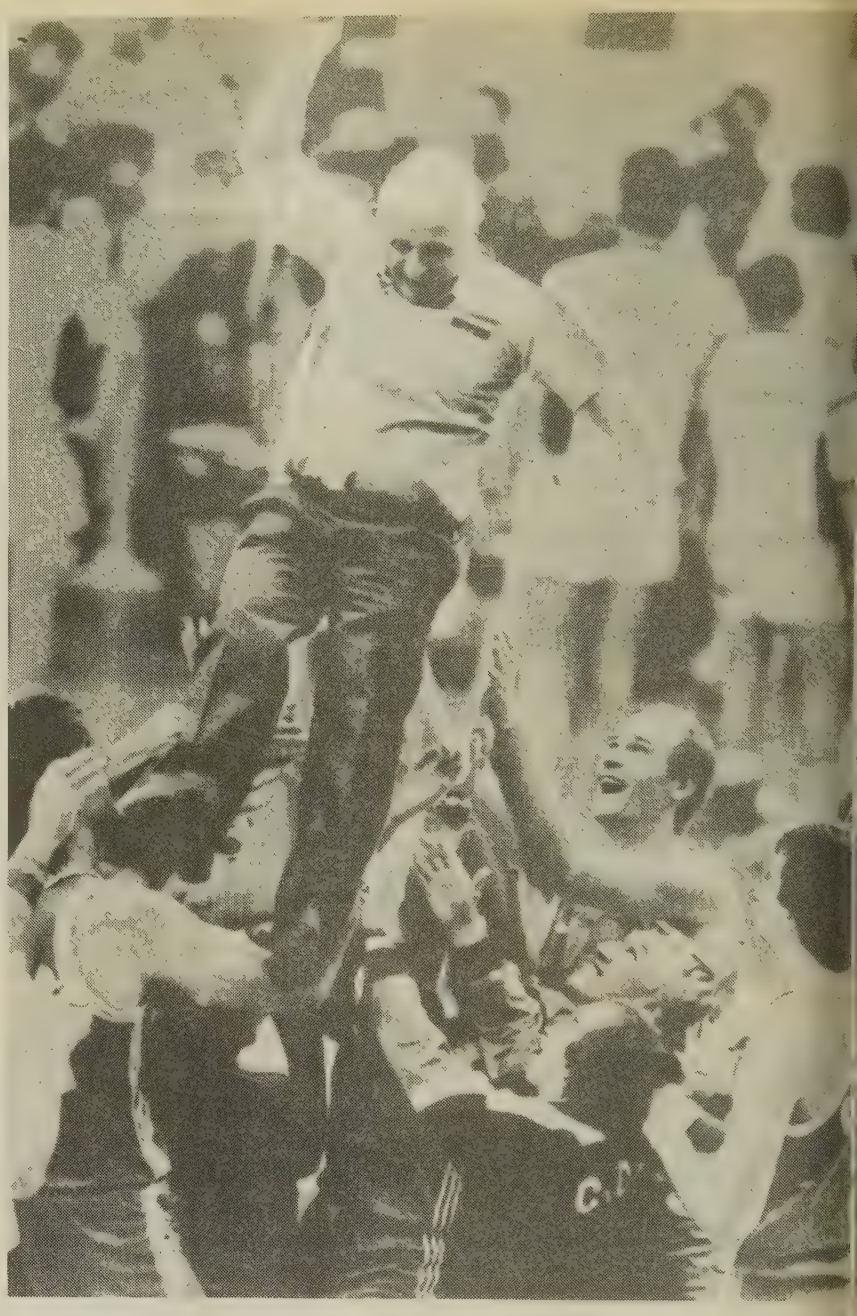
Local politicians would very much like soon to know how South Korea's relations with certain countries will develop now that the Olympics are over. The country's business community understandably wants a working relationship with the socialist countries. The copy of Pravda with Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk was xeroxed and distributed here, as South Korea was mentioned in it constructively.

Says Professor Hong of the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies:

"I am not a civil servant, I'm a scientist. Military problems are not up my street. I can see that economic cooperation is a realistic proposition. Mikhail Gorbachev's statements have my every praise. His proposals may be quite useful to South Korea. I am all for a face-to-face bilateral economic dialogue."

It is of course no easy task to be able to assess all South Korea's problems and achievements inside of two weeks packed with Olympic excitement, or to alter our habitual way of looking at the country's affairs, but one sensed attitudes changing here on an impressive scale in favour of learning more about the Soviets and having a better relationship with them while, on the other hand, critical remarks were heard about the Americans and Japanese.

On several occasions we heard none-too-optimistic accounts of local affairs from our hosts at the Olympic press centre. We were told bluntly that one problem was that for many years South Korea has had to rely on the U.S. market almost to the exclusion of others and that Seoul may face politica

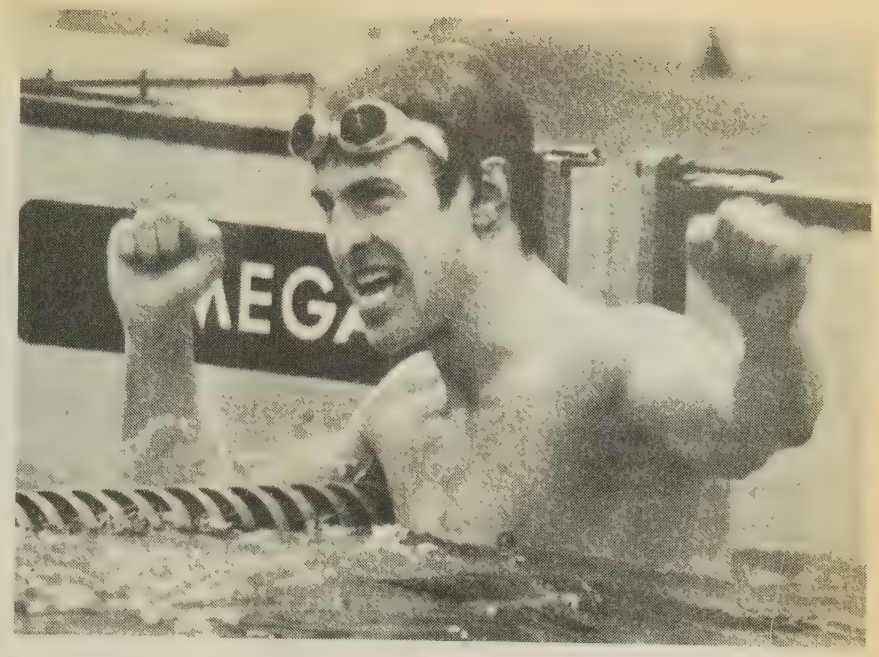


Soviet basketball players won the Olympic title for the second time. They give credit for this to Alexander Gomelsky, their coach.

stability if progress towards basic mocratic institutions is slowed down. ying to catch up with Japan may me to nothing, for the obstacles here e forbidding. South Korea spends 6 r cent of the national income on litary purposes compared with one r cent spent by Japan. Japanese siness interests are keeping a wary e on South Korea's export of cars to e United States and on the protec- nist barriers that prevent Japanese ods from reaching the South Korean rket. There is as much chance of eing a Datsun or a Toyota in Seoul there is in a small town in Central ssia. Enterprising South Korean sinessmen are guardedly watched their American counterparts.

t is hard to say whether the hosts to 24th Olympics have managed to the Games to the full for purposes removed from sport. They certainly concentrate on the country's image oad, but home affairs also figured in dia coverage. The authorities and students have managed to strike a l at least for the time being, but a edent for a more constructive re- nship seems to have been set. The osition continued to argue with the ernment as the leader of the Peace Democracy Party Kim Dae Jung used the government of having nt too much on the Olymics. The sident himself timed his public ap- rances at the Games to coincide n occasions where he could wel- ne the greatest numbers of people attract the most attention from the dia.

he excellent organization of the mes was nevertheless criticized in local press. Officials in charge of Olympic village came under more cism than others, especially those charge of the Department of Food Entertainment, an unenviable task er the best of circumstances, for centrating on food may impair the nces for good entertainment and versa. The canteen catering to etes and coaches came under h criticism from the outset and the had to intervene. The chairman of IOC sports commission, the fam- Soviet hockey player Vladislav Tre- , an authoritative champion of etes' rights, was given the job of ing things right. Next day Juan An- o Samaranch had to intervene per- ally.



Considering his age, 28, Vladimir Salnikov of Moscow accomplished a true feat showing the fastest time in the 1,500 m freestyle.

The Department of Food and Entertainment was to concentrate exclusively on the question of food.

Around the palaces

The Olympic facilities in Seoul are excellent. Well-thought-out in advance, they are a welcome addition to the city's skyline. They are of solid construction and will last for a long time. The press centre will be converted into an exhibition hall and the press village will be a residential district, all the apartments there having been sold at high prices. The Olympic village will be another residential district, along with the area where family accommodation was made available. We were told that the Koreans had drawn on the experience of the Moscow Olympics.

There were many young people in attractive uniforms around all these magnificent facilities. They were always ready to help, and discharged their duties with great dignity. Very often they could not understand what the journalists wanted but they bore with us gracefully and a vote of thanks certainly goes to them.

We did not see the people who tailored their beautiful uniforms, but we learned from the papers that the supplier was a very small factory situated opposite the new football stadium. It is part of a huge concern employing 25 thousand women who worked for ten hours a day for six days a week in crammed workshops which, according to the Japan Times, lacked ventillation and measured four by four and a half meters per five workers. The women were paid 200 dollars a month, not enough even to subsist on, for their hard work and all the noise and dust they had to endure. A vote of thanks goes to them as well.

The Olympiad has come to a close, alas. President Juan Antonio Samaranch of the International Olympic Committee declared the Games closed and extended his thanks to all those who had helped make them a success.

When the Olympic flame died down we all felt sad. The occasion brought to mind the finale of the Olympics in Moscow and the flight of Misha the mascot up and away over the Lenin Hills. Many of the athletes who took part in the Seoul Olympics are about to end their careers, while others are just starting on theirs. The third are on the run. Life goes on.

We say goodbye to Seoul, the home of the 24th Olympic Games, which are now history, as we look ahead towards the year 1992, the Games in Barcelona and the promise of more Olympic excellence in a future that begins today.

Barcelona'92

SEOUL

TASS, ADN photos

Hero of Socialist Labour **Vasily Starodubtsev,** chairman of the Novomoskovskoye agro-industrial association, was one of the first people to initiate perestroika in agriculture. He had to negotiate several bureaucratic obstacles to build an economic organization of a fundamentally new type, operating on democratic principles. Today the association is popular enough, but Starodubtsev and his colleagues believe that "we should not merely praise the new reforms but help implement them as soon as possible."

The efficient operation of many enterprises running on a cooperative basis is hindered by obsolete equipment. Nevertheless, the 22 collective farms, industrial cooperatives, road repair and building organizations united by the association have been able to raise labour productivity and increase grain yields to 5-6 tons per hectare.

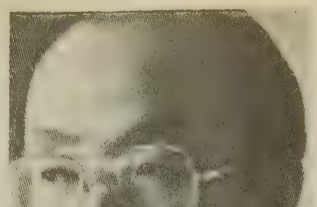
"My life is fairly typical of people born in the early 1930s," Starodubtsev says. "The war made an indelible impression... Even as a boy I worked on a collective farm. Then I served in the army, worked on a building site, graduated from an agricultural college, and was a team leader in a pit. But I always longed to work in agriculture."

In 1963 Vasily Starodubtsev was elected chairman of the Lenin Collective Farm in the Novomoskovsk District of Tula Region, where he still works. In 1987 his collective farm became the head enterprise in the Novomoskovskoye association.

"A new agricultural policy was outlined in the mid-1960s," Starodubtsev recalls. "But the main problem – that of restoring to the peasants the feeling of ownership of the land – was not solved at that time. Even today it is being tackled slowly, because the powerful superstructure of leading and coordinating bodies at every level continue to protect themselves from energetic leaders with old instructions that often contradict each other."

Starodubtsev intends to establish cooperation with Canadian farmers to breed and sell pedigree cattle. So far the Agro-Industrial Committee has shown no enthusiasm for the plan.

* * *



"Scandal," the latest novel by Japanese writer **Shusaku Endo,** has shocked many of his compatriots, members of his own family included. His wife called him a liar as the novel has a lot of overt sex scenes. But Endo sees nothing indecent in the book and has declined an offer from a producer of pornographic films to make a screen version of it.

Endo, a Christian, believes he has written a psychological and religious novel whose hero, absorbed in soul searching, has a double and opposite wallowing in vice. Another well-known Japanese Christian was the late premier Masayoshi Ohira. In Japan fewer than one per cent of the population are Christian. Endo's hero tries to combine the Christian ethic with traditional Buddhist-Shinto values.

Like his previous novel "The Samurai" (1980), "Scandal" has become a bestseller. Endo's books have been published in 23 countries.

His novel "The Sea and Poison" (1964) was translated into Russian. It made a tremendous impression because it destroyed the conventional image of the Japanese. The novel describes a murderous experiment carried out by Japanese doctors on American POWs during the second world war.

Shusaku Endo, born in 1923, was baptized Paul. After taking his degree in philology from Keio University in Tokyo

Picturing life for what it is

The favourite themes of Moscow photographer **Igor Stomakhin** are the counter-culture of the young, children, and life in a big city (one of his famous photo series is called "Moscow communal flats").

"I think two major trends can be discerned in art photography," Igor says. "One of them shows extreme or unusual situations, such as railway accidents, the breaking up of demonstrations, or a ship being launched. The other trend is represented by carefully composed and aesthetically sophisticated photographs. For instance, photographs of people in original situations. The predominance of such photographs is very conspicuous. People have got

used to them and it is difficult to surprise them with anything. Trying to find a more original camera angle or an unusual situation often becomes an end in itself.

"I am fond of photography that gives an unvarnished account of ordinary, daily events. In my opinion, the skill of a photographer, his human and the sense of participat in the image can be displa much better in genre art."

Stomakhin's work has b shown at many exhibitions, cluding "Young journalists the U.S.S.R.," sponsored the Novosti Press Agency held in several Europ socialist countries, and popular festival of pho graphy in the Lithuanian cit Siauliai. His photographs h appeared in such pop Soviet periodicals Sobesednik, Moscow N and Ogonyok.

Igor is now preparing 60 tures for an exhibition in United States. They will be display in the exhibition ha Harvard University.

K. Yelge

became one of the first anese to study in France r the war. On returning to an, he was hospitalized n tuberculosis, underwent eral operations, and was with one lung. "The Sea Poison" clearly shows his ulsion at Japanese medical ctices.

ndo is chairman of the wir-'s group PEN in Japan, founder-director of Kiza, an's largest amateur trical group. He also acts the troupe and writes orous stories.

* * *

mar Bergman is known in Soviet Union for his out-ding films "Wild Strawber-" "The Silence," "Autumn ata" and "Cries and Whis-" The Soviet public is less familiar with his in the theatre. But we had opportunity to see it during Kungliga Dramatiska m performances in Mos-recently. One of the t theatres in Sweden, Dramaten, as Swedes it for short, has

closely cooperated with Bergman for over 20 years, and for some time he even directed the troupe, staging, among others, such plays as "The Ghost Sonata" and "To Damascus" by August Strindberg, "Twelfth Night" and "King Lear" by William Shakespeare, and "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf" by Edward Albee. Director Bergman stages plays written by other dramatists, whereas most of his films have been shot by him from his own scripts. Though he feels that interpreting the ideas of other dramatists somewhat restricts his imagination, it nevertheless enables him to express his feelings and vision of the world.

Dramaten came to Moscow without Bergman, who is to undergo an operation shortly. The plays it brought to the Soviet capital – Strindberg's "Lady Julia" and Shakespeare's "Hamlet" – reveal Bergman's capacity to notice details overlooked by his predecessors and to accentuate ideas in such a way that the conventional conception of one or other character and the play as a whole completely changes.

* * *

Natalya Karetnikova is one of the best bridge players in Moscow and an ardent champion of the game. Bridge is not gambling but sport, she asserts, and, moreover, it is a sport for the civilized. Ill-bred people simply cannot get on with other bridge players. Even the slightest nuances of behavior at the table, from responses to gestures, are laid down in the international code of rules.

Bridge contests, held internationally since the 1930s,

have long been given the status of sporting events. In some Scandinavian countries children are even taught to play bridge at kindergarten. The Soviet Union is the only country in Europe which has no national federation. True, at the end of last year Soviet bridge players were admitted to the European Bridge League. They have been invited to prestigious international games, but for some reason the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports believes it is too early for Soviet players to take part in these contests.

In Moscow, the first unofficial games took place at the computer centre of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Amateur bridge festivals have been held in Riga since 1975. Public interest in the game is growing. Bridge clubs have been registered in 16 Soviet cities. The Tallinn evening paper recently introduced a column of the latest bridge news, and its Minsk counterpart carried several articles on bridge written by authoritative scientists.

"I can judge from my own experience," Natalya Karetnikova says, "that bridge helps tremendously to foster analytic thinking, memory and mathematical abilities. As regards women, bridge helps them demonstrate their inscrutable logic. At the table one can immediately judge a player's self-control and concentration.

"All the prerequisites exist for the establishment of a national bridge federation," Natalya claims. "What we need is an organization prepared to assume the role of sponsor."

r favourites

Hungarian singer **Eva** n is one of the world sopranos. American critics have three times ed her the Singer of the itle for the roles she in Strauss' "Die Frau chatten" and Wagner's äuser" and "Lohen-n August of this year rformed with tremend-ccess in the Arena di theatre in Puccini's dot."

r youth Eva went in for showed good results in and was a member of ional volleyball team. hen the time came to final choice, she pre-singing to professional Incidentally, Eva's g past and her life-long nterest in tennis and ng help her, as for a career it is important to od physical condition.

Eva Marton has played over 80 parts, and today she has 26 roles (all favourites) in her repertoire. "There is not a part I would be reluctant to sing," she says. Eva is now enthusiastically studying her parts in several operas, starting with "Salome" by Richard Strauss. In February 1989 she will make her début as Salome in a new production staged in New York's Metropolitan Opera. Next year Marton will also perform two new roles – in Catalani's opera "La Wally," and "Elektra." A new production of "Elektra" in the Vienna State Opera is being prepared by leading figures in the opera world – conductor Claudio Abbado and stage director Harry Kupfer.

"My favourite composers are Richard Strauss and Wagner," Eva says. "I have mastered my parts in the 'Ring of the Nibelungs' and in all the operas of Richard Strauss, except 'Der Rosenkavalier' and 'Capriccio.'"

She will, however, fill this gap in the near future. The role of Isolda is another of her great dreams.

The best opera houses in the world are vying for the privilege of inviting her. Nevertheless, the famous singer is always terribly nervous when she performs at home. "It's important for me to know how I will be received by Hungarian audiences," she says.

Let us pluck up our courage...

Alla Gracheva

"Modernism, a new acquaintance," is the motto of the State Tretyakov Gallery show of paintings from the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection. Rather should we say "a new view."

Only recently we were warned: "Modernism is not only false at its root, it is extremely dangerous" (N. Malakhov. Modernism. A Critique. Izobrazitelnoye Iskusstvo – Visual Arts – Publishers, 1986). So let us pluck up our courage and enter the rooms in which the Swiss collector has given us the opportunity for the first time in modernism's 75 years to see for ourselves its diverse trends and try to understand whether the devil is as black as it is painted.

For the layman, so long trapped in toils of ignorance imposed from above, this exhibition is a primer in modernism, of that unprecedented and varied world discovered through the exploration of several generations of Western and Russian artists, who categorically rejected the classical tradition. They evolved new forms nd means of expression, with the "ism's" multiplying day after day. The cubism of Picasso and Braque, Italian futurism, dadaism, with its ardour for destruction, the ascetic purism of Ozenfant and Le Corbusier, the colourful fauvism of Delaunay, frenzied German expressionism, the frightening metaphysics of De Chirico, surrealism, the subliminal abstractionism of Kandinsky and Kupka, the suprematism of Malevich, the neoplasticism of Mondrian, the rayonism of Larionov and neoprimitivism of Goncharova – the entire panoply of innovative artists ventured out to blaze new trails.

Best represented at the exhibition are the surrealists with whom the Soviet art lover is least familiar. We were introduced to the Spaniard Salvador Dali, this trend's main exponent, here in Moscow last May, when the French publisher Pierre Argillet exhibited his graphic works. The publisher called his exhibition a partly opened door, which would be thrown open still more widely. That is what has happened. Today we have been introduced to Dali's world of "the concrete irrational" in which the logical link between commonplace items, delineated with photographic accuracy is replaced by poetic allusion. "We are in our dreams or in the depths of our hearts where love itself holds sway and a strange wind rings out like distant music," Federico Garcia Lorca wrote of his friend's paintings in 1928, in his brilliant sketch on modern painting. "We must shed external reality to reach the authentic plastic reality. We must search for equivalents on canvas rather than physical properties. Not a meticulous likeness of the object, but its expression in colour, its geometry and lyricism, its plastic image... Five centuries without one change. Yet now painting is at once veering away, faithful to its own logic and subservient to the spirit of creativity."

Another surrealist is Catalonian Joan Miro. When the craze for André Breton, "the father of surrealism," and his friends had passed, Miro forged ahead alone, creating on the borderline of poetry and childhood dreams his own "microworld" with its symbolic mannikins reminiscent of living creatures, wherein he mirrors the history of pristine Nature and the infinitesimally minute primordial atom.

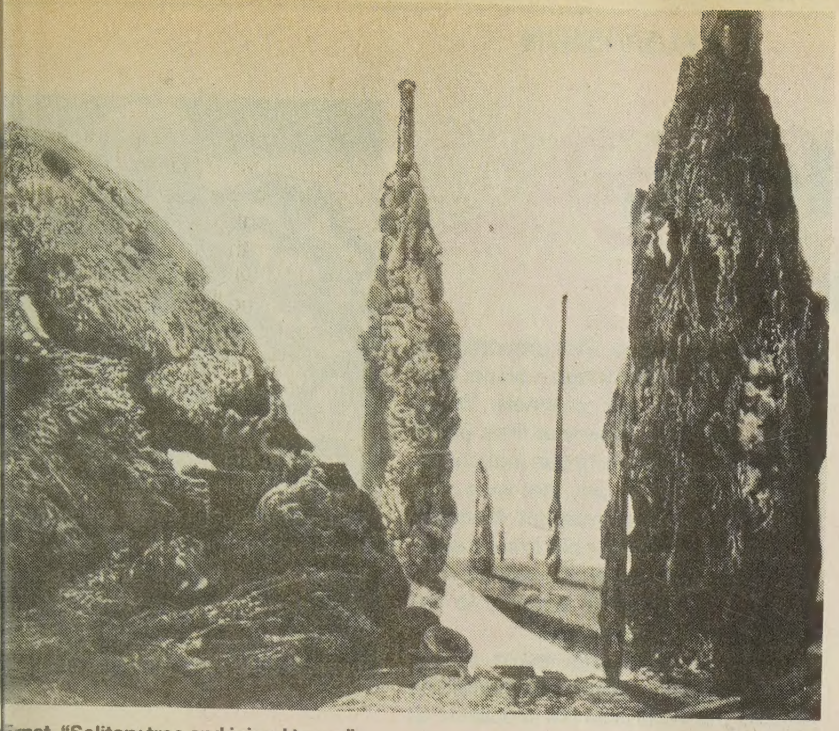
"I do not discriminate between painting and poetry," he declared, the first to paint the word. In his bull fights the applauding hands become the wings of doves, the banderillas, dragonflies and the horns of a bull a crescent moon.

Miro helped Picasso and the sculptor Calder to decorate Republican Spain's pavilion at the 1937 World Fair in Paris. Alongside Picasso's "Guernica," he hung his huge fresco "The Reaper," which, unfortunately, has not survived.

Belgians see René Magritte as an exponent of "subjective" surreaism. His paintings are simple: the echo of the dryly protocoled impossible, petrified fruits, neatly garbed, bowler-hatted office clerks flying through the air, cliffs floating cloud-like in the sky and so on. He wanted people to look at the world around them through the artless eyes of the child for whom every single object is an enigma. The links he established between objects lay beyond the bounds of existing rules, habits and reflexes which, he believed, only interfered with the perception of the actual substance of things. "Mystery," he wrote, "is not just one of the possibilities of reality. Mystery is absolutely essential for reality to exist."

Like Magritte, the French artist Yves Tanguy ventured into surrealism after seeing a painting by the Italian artist Giorgio de Chirico by chance in a shop window. But unlike Magritte, he was completely self-taught. Having met Breton and mastered automatic drawing, his initially naive water-colours gave way to amazing landscapes, now sandy deserts, now rocky shores, now craters of the moon, with wierd objects more reminiscent of petrifactions carved by wave, rain and wind. These canvases, with their presentation of geological structures and low-lying horizons, were influenced by his 1930 journey to North Africa. At the age of 18, he sailed as an ordinary seaman aboard a merchantman to the shores of South America. His efforts resemble tiny windows opened onto a desolate, grievous alien world. One of his latest efforts is on display. Tanguy died a sudden death at his Connecticut farm in 1955, and his ashes were scattered at sea.

The German surrealist Max Ernst, who is better known in France, where he lived, and in the U.S.A., to which he emigrated during the past war, extensively applied such diverse methods of "semi-automatism" as the collage which already existed, his own invention frottage and dripping, and the decalcomania that Oscar Dominguez introduced. He used the decal to produce his "Solitary tree and joined trees" (1940). He was fond of painting woods and forests. Even in boyhood he was fascinated by a drawing of a cross-section of a tree trunk, which served to spur fancy and imagination. The relief of a wooden floor suggested frottage to him in 1925: he placed a sheet of paper on the uneven floor and did a rubbing, thus obtaining a copy of the fiber-structure. He employed this technique first in drawing and subsequently in painting, making use of such diverse objects among others as coins, leaves and sacking. He sought to catch in the texture the unexpected result, the "objectivized chance," for which reason



Ernst. "Solitary tree and joined trees."

rt has been compared to a blindly-ed ship.

ax Ernst tirelessly introduced more more new methods, as for instance, ripping technique, which the Ameri-rtist Jackson Pollock adopted. The en Pollock illustrates his method of matism," the spraying of paint on a as spread out on the floor. Action ng is an abstractionist trend that eeds from the fixation of the artist's res and manner.

e Soviet art lover knows the powerful of abstractionism from the work of compatriots as Kandinsky, one of ounders of the movement, and vich, the father of suprematism. Un-nately, most Kandinskys are abroad, several superb pieces in the Thyssen ction. Thus, Kandinsky painted his nd a line" in Paris in 1943, a year be-is death.

ndinsky absolutizes form and col-Colour," he wrote, "is that means directly influences the spirit. Col-the key, the eye, the hammer, the a piano of many strings."

910 he wrote "The Spiritual Art," in he contended that the new art re-on pictorial release from figurative sentation. In it he examined the ual" substance of colour and spoke symbolism, while in his second "The Point and the Line on the ," he discussed line and form.

912 Kandinsky and Kupka had for-ed, independently of one another, principles of abstractionism that d such broad currency in the post-2 world. "Lines," Kupka claimed, as the frame for the image, fixating the rhythmic relationships between impressions. That is precisely the real object of the artist's efforts: the lyrical or tragic schema of Nature poeticized or dramatized."

In 1922 Kandinsky taught at the Bauhaus, founded by the German architect Walter Gropius and the Swiss artist Paul Klee in Germany in 1919. They had become acquainted in 1900. Twelve years later Klee joined Kandinsky's Blue Rider group. He regarded himself as the Russian artist's pupil and despite the great difference in age, they were fast friends until Klee's untimely death in 1941.

Klee maintained that the artist is merely the medium through which the cosmic spirit manifests itself in art. Hence his formula: the outer world is the root of the tree, the work of art – its crown and the artist – its trunk. The artist's mission, he said, was to create a world unlike that around him. He was the author of the famous aphorism: art does not reproduce the visible, but makes it visible. He extracted from the depths of his imagination the material used to create his universe. His pictures often present moons, stars, arrows, ships and meticulously depicted, fanciful fish- and bird-like creatures. Expanding his imaginative vocabulary of symbol and sign, he essayed his hand in every trend of modern painting from cubism to surrealism. He was extremely sensitive to line and colour. He fervently believed that painting could express movement and time. A professional violinist and music connoisseur he sought in music an equivalent to the visual arts. No wonder he has been dubbed "the Mozart of painting." Kupka likewise addressed himself to music, seeking to convey Bach in the language of abstractionism.

Malevich and the two Dutch painters Mondrian and Van Duesburg were the fathers of geometric abstractionism. The principles expounded by Mondrian, leader of the Dutch constructivist de Stijl group, created during the first world war, consisted of the geometrization of the image, which was reduced to horizontals and verticals.

The work of Vladimir and David Burliuks in 1911-12 bear a close relationship to those of Kandinsky and the Munich Blue Rider group. Vladimir Burliuk's "Russian Peasant Woman" and Goncharova's "Angling" derive from national folklore, from the popular lubok folk print. Efros wrote of Goncharova: "She paints as if carting a load of pots. She brims with strength. She is so hale and hearty, enduring, mischievous, pugnacious."

The exhibition also gives some idea of Larionov's rayonism, which Apollinaire termed "a wonderful aesthetic discovery," and which with the Russian nonfigurative artists Lyubov Popova, Ivan Pugny and Ilya Tschaschnik, who display such economy in the use of visual means, resorted to the simplest of geometrical forms such as the square, the triangle and the circle as emblematic of "the eternal nothing," and gravitated towards architecture and the applied arts.

As today, 50 years later, we observe the stupendous and varied mosaic of modernism, symbolic of the 20th century, we discover that inner affinity between its diverse trends, each reflecting the epoch's dramatic complexities in its own way.

Art is international. Artists breathe the same air and reflect the same time with all its vicissitudes. That revolution in the world of art which was launched at the start of this century, has assumed global proportions. It is good to realize that Russian artists marched in its vanguard. Their contribution to modern art is indeed a great one and a cause for pride. But how have we dealt with all this wealth? Let us therefore be grateful to such collectors as Costakis, Thyssen and Hammer for having preserved instead of us and for us a portion of what comprises this wealth of ours.

Since the 1930s, the Soviet visual arts, cut off from the outside world, have been groping in the dark. Herded within the confines of bans and prohibitions, our artists were often compelled to re-invent the wheel. Our acquaintance with the achievements of world art has come to us 50 years late. At this present exhibition we are faced with the choice of either comprehending the unfamiliar language of the book that has been opened before us, or to snap it shut in annoyance. Let us not be afraid to understand. ■

McDonald's, TV style

What will television be like tomorrow? What direction should international media cooperation take?

These are only a few of the questions raised in "Space viewers, comment from the future?" (New Times No. 1, 1988); "What will the 21st century bring" (No. 11); "Disarmament in the ether" (No. 23) – the last two in Russian edition. New Times readers continue the discussion. Today we publish a letter from France.

Dear friends! So you have only two TV programmes. You poor, poor people. I can tune in to seven programmes, though there is hardly any difference between them.

Technical aspects are no problem, so today we are already enjoying the TV of the future. It is easy to purchase videos, personal computers and comparatively cheap multistandard TV sets. (To tell you the truth, a mechanic friend of mine worked for three hours on my set, hastily put together in the Philippines, otherwise it might have blown up like any Soviet-made set. It is worth noting that an aerial capable of receiving Soviet TV costs 44,000 francs, i.e., about 4,400 rubles, as much as a small car. Of course this is relatively inexpensive. It takes only a few years to save for it).

Technological progress will help reduce the prices and sizes of TV sets. Soon you will be able to place your set between two flower pots. A short time from now I will be able to enjoy telecasts from all over the world without leaving my kitchen.

What next? What else will I have?

When people say that a wide choice of programmes is a good thing, one should remember that they have to be filled. Incidentally, they are sometimes filled with stills. Our programme editors do not worry much about this. They get information wherever they can as long as it's cheap. It can range from coca-cola ads to American TV serials. The proportion of American films is very high – 80 per cent of the time on two channels. Soviet people may think American films are of good quality, while European motion pictures are inferior. If only that were so... Yes, indeed, many excellent American films have been shown, but to be honest, there have been plenty of mediocre hastily made productions adapted to the mental level of ten-year-olds.

Serials are sold and resold at low prices to dozens of countries for profit. As a result, the same films are telecast in all countries. Therefore it makes practically no difference whether you have a 21- (or more) channel, satellite or cable TV. You will still get the same programmes.

Take, for in stance, a popular film serial. First it is shown on Channel One, then continued on Channel Five. After that Channel One repeats the first instalment and Channel Two shows the second. And it is repeated in two weeks after noon. Today you can see it on Channel Six and tomorrow you will have no difficulty finding it on other European stations. For instance, my friends in Italy told me the plot of a major serial a year before it was shown in France. If I chanced to miss a part there was no need to be anxious as it would be repeated in a few months. All the same, this is of little importance as practically all movies are based on the same plot. If you have missed the beginning, you can always reconstruct it. Nor do you need to see the end because you have guessed it already.

The teleculture is something like McDonald's snack bars. It is dull and standard. Though it has spread to many corners of the world, it shows total disregard for the cultural values and traditions of the various peoples. I could also mention the cult of violence promoted by American movies.

It is true that some channels telecast motion pictures I enjoyed as a kid. These are nostalgic black and white films. Though TV is often accused of showing old movies, I do not think we see too many of them. In contrast, hardly a week passes without a serial that we have learnt by heart and can watch in any language – English, German, Italian or even Russian.

I could also mention the ever-present ads that interrupt film stories and chop them up like sausage. But sometimes you get an ad that is better than the films it has cut to pieces.

We have films to suit any taste, including some filled with violence, murder, blood and pornography. I wonder how many of you have seen a real porn movie. Naturally, I do not mean the harmless bedroom scenes our films are full of, the films you see at film festivals. As a child I secretly watched motion pictures for adults and did not find them at all shocking. Grown up myself I now avert my eyes away from the screen when some horror scenes are shown.

I do not believe my country has no real culture. The point is that the motion picture industry is dominated by Its Majesty Money. We should not shut our eyes to this, but should work to compel the film industry to imrove the quality of its products.

Will this help TV inculcate a sense of unity and wholeness, as you suggest? Today we can only dream of it. Dream of a TV independent of the power of money managed by sincere and incorruptible people in a position to compile high-quality programmes, choose the best from the treasury of world culture and abandon dull standardization. That is, everything that is being forced upon us today. But, really, I do not know who can do this. Would you like to try?

Your faithful reader

Marine Arden

Drawing from the newspaper Die Zeit

СТЕРЕОТЕЛЕФОНЫ
·ЭЛЕКТРОНИКА·

You go to bed late
and wish to listen to new recordings.

BUT THE HOUSE IS ALREADY QUIET

because the family are asleep.
There'll be NO problems however if you use

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The Elektronika commercial association
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Fly Aeroflot to any continent!

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Soviet airliners provide regular service with Europe,
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